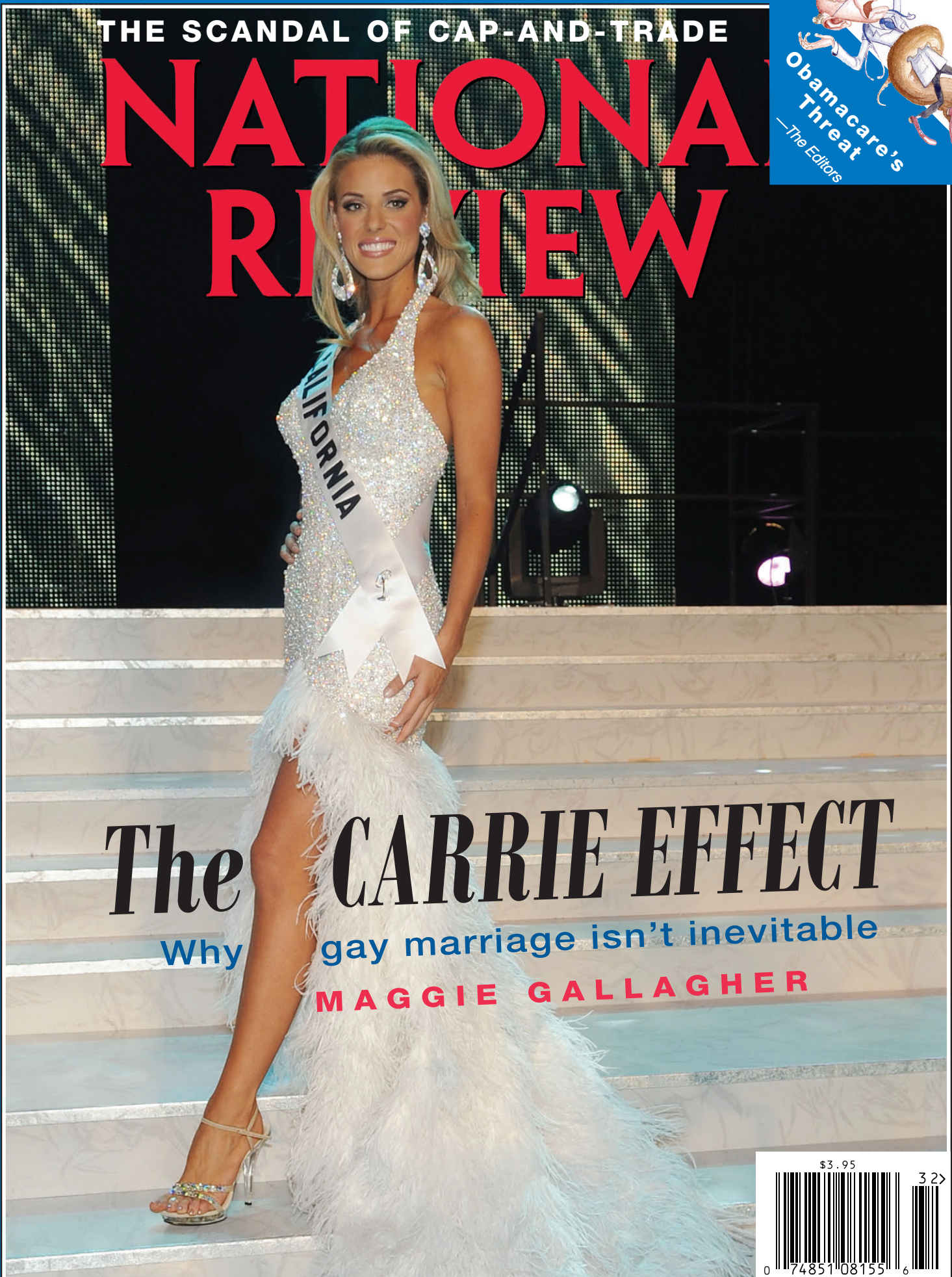
August 10, 2009 49145 $3.95

THE SCANDAL OF CAP-AND-TRADE

NATIONAL REVIEW

Obamacare's Threat
—The Editors



The CARRIE EFFECT

Why gay marriage isn't inevitable

MAGGIE GALLAGHER

$3.95
32
0 74851 08155 6

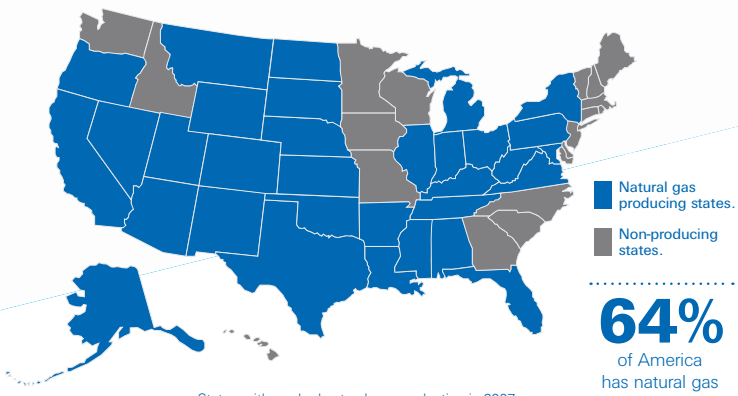
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

www.nationalreview.com

WITH PRODUCTION IN 32 OF OUR 50 STATES,

natural gas' benefits are impossible to ignore.

Natural gas employs 1.8 million Americans in high-paying, high-quality, clean-energy jobs across our nation. This energy alternative generates tax revenue for 64% of the states in our country, making natural gas an economic driver.



States with marked natural gas production in 2007.
Source: 2007 Annual Energy Review published by EIA.

64%
of America has natural gas production.

With more than 50% fewer carbon emissions than coal, and more than a 100-year supply that continues growing with technology, natural gas is America's cleaner energy alternative – ready for tomorrow, today.

AMERICA'S
NATURAL GAS
ALLIANCE

www.anga.us

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

NATIONAL REVIEW

AUGUST 10, 2009 | VOLUME LXI, NO. 14 | www.nationalreview.com

Regina E. Herzlinger on Health Care . . . p. 16

COVER STORY Page 28

The Carrie Effect

Carrie Prejean—a young, beautiful woman who did nothing other than answer a question honestly in a beauty pageant—gave permission to conservative cultural elites to talk about the gay-marriage issue, and so gave ordinary Americans permission to tell pollsters what they really think. *Maggie Gallagher*

COVER: DENISE TRUSCELLO/WIREIMAGE/GETTY

ARTICLES

16 **OBAMANOPOLY** *by Regina E. Herzlinger*
In which the government's tentacles choke health-care consumers.

18 **WRONG BIG PICTURE, DANGEROUS FINE PRINT**
by James C. Capretta & Tevi Troy
But otherwise Obamacare is swell.

20 **ROMNEY'S FOLLY** *by Michael F. Cannon*
Health-care mandates are a middle-class tax.

24 **NOT YOUR FATHER'S LATIN AMERICA** *by Duncan Currie*
Its troubles continue, but the region has made real progress.

FEATURES

28 **THE CARRIE EFFECT** *by Maggie Gallagher*
Notes from the frontlines of the Marriage War.

35 **WHAT'S WRONG WITH CAP-AND-TRADE?** *by Stephen Spruiell*
Everything.

37 **BRAINY BRONX KID AGAINST TERROR** *by Jay Nordlinger*
A conversation with Judge Michael B. Mukasey, George W. Bush's last attorney general.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

40 **THE DEEPEST ROOTS**
Tod Lindberg reviews The Conservatives: Ideas & Personalities Throughout American History, *by Patrick Allitt.*

42 **STRUGGLE FOR A CONTINENT**
Theodore Dalrymple reviews Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West, *by Christopher Caldwell.*

44 **YOUR FRIEND PRISCILLA**
Jay Nordlinger on History Writ Small, *a collection of travel pieces by Priscilla L. Buckley.*

46 **FILM: HERE'S THE OUTRAGE**
Ross Douthat reviews Brüno.

47 **THE STRAGGLER: SUMMERTIME BLUES**
John Derbyshire questions the necessity of twelve weeks of juvenile idleness.

SECTIONS

2 Letters to the Editor
4 The Week
39 The Long View . . . . . *Rob Long*
41 Poetry . . . . . *Sarah Ruden*
48 Happy Warrior . . . . . *Mark Steyn*

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 2009. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 386-246-0118, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A. RATES: $59.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

AUGUST 10 ISSUE; PRINTED JULY 23

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jay Nordlinger
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jason Lee Steorts
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Christopher McEvoy
National Correspondent John J. Miller
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Deputy Managing Editors
Fred Schwarz / Kevin D. Williamson
Associate Editor Robert VerBruggen
Research Director John J. Virtes
Research Manager Dorothy McCartney
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Katherine Connell

Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire
Ross Douthat / Rod Dreher / David Frum
Roman Genn / Jim Geraghty / Jonah Goldberg
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow / Mark R. Levin
Yuval Levin / Rob Long / Jim Manzi
Andrew C. McCarthy / Kate O'Beirne
David B. Rivkin Jr.

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Editor Kathryn Jean Lopez
Managing Editor Edward John Craig
Deputy Managing Editor Duncan Currie
Associate Editor Emily Karrs
Staff Reporters
Mark Hemingway / Stephen Spruiell
Webmaster James Voris
Technical Services Russell Jenkins

CHAIRMAN & CEO
Thomas L. Rhodes

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Jeffrey Hart / Kevin A. Hassett
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / David Klinghoffer
Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
William A. Rusher / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
Vin Weber

Assistant to the Chairman Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Zofia Baraniak
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Amy Tyler
Circulation Director Erik Zenhausern
Circulation Manager Jason Ng
WORLD WIDE WEB www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 386-246-0118
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Director Jim Fowler
Advertising Manager Kevin Longstreet
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Paul Olivett
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Martin P. McNulty

PUBLISHER
Jack Fowler

FOUNDER
William F. Buckley Jr.

Letters

Loose Facts, and Women

David Pryce-Jones's elegant essay "The Dark Lord" (July 6) provided a wealth of fascinating and disturbing insights into the character of Lord Byron. But Pryce-Jones is in error when he gives the title character of Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* credit for seducing "a thousand and three" Italian women. When Laporello, the Don's servant, mockingly sets forth the catalogue of his master's sexual conquests, the Don is credited with a mere "six hundred and forty" in sunny Italy; he scored "a thousand and three" times in Spain. My Italian ancestors would want it known that, while their women might be easy, they're not *that* easy. They gladly offer the crown to Spain, just as Mozart intended.

Joseph Barba
Pollock Pines, Calif.

Defending Space Exploration

In your July 6 issue, John Derbyshire describes the 1969 moon landing as a "magnificent folly." I take exception to describing Project Apollo as "folly."

Like Mr. Derbyshire, I have strong memories of the moon landing. Also like Mr. Derbyshire, I thought the world had changed forever. Yes, it was a naïve thought: Nothing followed but five more landings, followed by the deadly space shuttle and a space station to which we parade an endless line of women and men to do nothing more ground-breaking or edifying than study how their own bodies react to being in space.

But the reason Apollo didn't change the world may not have been that Apollo was pointless, but that by 1969 the world itself had so changed that Apollo could have no impact on it. A vast sociological chasm separated the moment when President Kennedy announced the goal of putting a man on the moon in 1961 from the moment it actually happened. Following, roughly, the Tet Offensive of 1968, a new America had been born; it was represented by youths who booed the announcement of the moon landing at a rock concert.

A society that had not invested in self-loathing would have followed up the moon landing with a moon base, and with a manned mission to Mars, and in the process produced new knowledge, new technology, new resources, and—quite probably—extraordinary new wealth that would have made Bill Gates look middle-class. Instead, America turned away from all that. The proposal of Vice President Agnew's task force, calling for a far-reaching manned space program to follow Apollo, was summarily dismissed.

Perhaps having large government programs to send humans into space is not in keeping with conservative ideals of limited government. But then again, perhaps it is. Man's history indicates that the government, even a limited government, has an important role to play in human exploration and discovery: Think of Christopher Columbus, the transcontinental railroad, and Lewis and Clark.

Joe Cor
Warriors Mark, Penn.

JOHN DERBYSHIRE REPLIES: There is a case—a case I agree with—for modest federal support of scientific projects. In the case of Apollo, however, the expenditures were vastly greater, and the probability of benefits to the nation vastly less, than in any of the historical examples cited. Sorry, no sale.

Letters may be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENERGY SECURITY? THE ANSWER JUST MIGHT BE CLOSER THAN YOU THINK.

Canada holds the world's second-largest oil reserves

Americans know Canada as a good neighbor. What many don't know is that the United States gets more oil from Canada than any other country. Now Canada is poised to increase greatly its oil production, helping secure North American energy supplies for decades to come. A new study* indicates that the U.S. could potentially double the amount of oil currently imported from Canada by 2035.

Oil sands in western Canada hold an estimated 173 billion barrels of recoverable oil – the world's second-largest reserves – and new technology is making this oil increasingly available to refiners. It's no drop in the bucket. Not only could this Canadian oil power our everyday lives, it could also create new well-paying jobs in the United States and Canada.

The U.S. Department of Energy reports that oil and natural gas will continue to supply more than half of America's energy needs well into the future. Canada offers a close and reliable supply of secure energy that can be produced, transported by pipeline, and refined, all the while meeting strict environmental standards. Congress should avoid policies that, by blocking use of Canadian oil, would jeopardize the creation of new jobs and the oil and natural gas industry's ability to continue meeting North America's growing energy needs.

EnergyTomorrow.org

THE *people* OF AMERICA'S OIL AND NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY

**Growth in the Canadian Oil Sands: Finding a New Balance*, IHS Cambridge Energy Research Associates, May 2009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Week

■ Of course Obama hasn't read the health-care bill—he's probably still working his way through the stimulus.

■ Sarah Palin's independence day came just before America's, when she announced that she would step down as governor of Alaska not next year, when her term ends, but now. She complained of fire-ant political attacks, though they surely will not cease, and said she wanted to spare Alaska the tenure of an absentee lame duck, which was a backhanded acknowledgment of her ambition. She should be ambitious—she has zealous followers, a novel persona in same-old same-old politics, and an ability to "connect" that rivals would die for. To succeed, she will need to work hard. Her retirement speech was a mess, something like an enormous celebrity "tweet." She needs to expand her knowledge base from energy to a host of other issues (her experience in state government won't play so well now that she has forsworn the governorship). If she can learn and grow while hauling in the bucks and the plaudits, all the current objections will become moot. Good luck.

■ President Obama's stimulus is a failure on his own terms. Obama: "If we don't act immediately, millions more jobs will be lost, and national unemployment rates will approach double digits." We acted immediately. Millions more jobs were lost. National unemployment rates are approaching double digits. *Ipso facto*: failure. Democrats, following Paul Krugman's rhetorical pompons, have hit upon a bizarre argument: No matter how spectacularly the stimulus failed, they maintain, it failed because it wasn't big enough. Like the eleventh-hour Bush stimulus before it, Obama's $787 billion package was plenty big. It failed to stimulate because government cannot fiat wealth and productivity into existence; it can only move money from taxpayers to tax recipients, taking a generous cut for itself in the process. In the case of the Obama stimulus, that meant shunting money from taxpayers to Obama allies in the public-sector unions, the college administrations, and the federal, state, and municipal bureaucracies. Krugman & Co. now argue that the answer to a failed Bush stimulus and a failed Obama stimulus is . . . a third stimulus. But spending must be paid for, today or tomorrow, and every dollar spent on non-stimulating "stimulus" is a dollar taken out of the productive economy. If it were possible to spend one's way to economic health, there would not be a poor nation in the world.

■ Congress has found a perfect issue: one that complicates life for the CIA and evokes the evil specter of Dick Cheney. After 9/11 the CIA thought, off and on, of striking back at al-Qaeda's leaders—perhaps by capturing or killing them. The National Security Act of 1947 requires that Congress's intelligence committees be "fully and currently informed" of intelligence activity, including "significant anticipated" activity—except when briefing them might compromise "exceptionally sensitive matters."

Marion Barry's latest travails *(see page 8)*

(The intelligence committees consider themselves informed when the Gang of Eight—senior bipartisan leaders of both committees—are.) Vice President Cheney thought the embryonic program should be hidden until it became more fully developed, and the CIA's directors agreed—until the current director, Leon Panetta, decided that it had gone nowhere and told Congress. Lots of plans dead-end and deserve to be killed. But now Congress, miffed, wants to rewrite the rules. The intelligence authorization bill would require all 37 members of the intelligence committees to be informed of covert activity. Even the Obama White House will veto that provision. Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D., Ill.) said the CIA during Cheney's tenure as vice president showed "contempt" for Congress. Indeed.

■ "Not a single significant plot was foiled as a result of Abu Zubaida's tortured confessions," two *Washington Post* reporters boldly declared on March 29. The problem with this assertion? It's simply untrue, as Marc Thiessen explained on National Review Online's blog The Corner—and as the reporters themselves conceded (without actually admitting they'd gotten anything wrong) in a second story. According to that story, Zubaida became a "font of information" after the use of enhanced interrogation techniques, and only then provided the information that led to the capture of al-Qaeda's José

ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"As the master craftsman who opened the famous Lincoln Pocket Watch at the Smithsonian, I recently reviewed the the Stauer Legacy timepiece. The assembly and the precision of the mechanical movement are excellent."
—George Thomas
Towson Watch Company
Authentic Stauer Historical Reproductions
Stauer AUTOMATIC

Better Than FREE!
Receive $200 in Stauer Gift Coupons with the purchase of this $195 watch.

In This Economy...

Overpaying For Luxury is Just Bad Taste

Stauer introduces the 27-jewel, automatic luxury wristwatch that's Better Than Free!

If there is any good to come out our rollercoaster economy, let it be the death of ostentatiousness. Motoring around in a limo and flaunting a $20,000 watch with a big "R" on the face is now considered bad manners. Ostentatiousness is what got us in trouble in the first place. Honestly, our parents taught us better than that...I know mine did. Yet so many of us still fell for the fool's gold of designer names and the notion that higher prices equal higher status. We've never had that problem at Stauer. For years we've been stirring up a sort of retail revolution. And the good news is that it has truly caught on. The Stauer ***Legacy*** Automatic is a true value. Priced at only $195, it comes with $200 in gift coupons, so it's **Better Than Free**!

99% OFF is the new gold standard. When it comes to luxury and the finer things, all the rules have changed. Smart people don't simply accept what's written on the price tag. In today's marketplace, everything is negotiable. And we believe negotiations should start at 99% off of the price of a comparable $20,000 luxury watch with a classic 27-jewel automatic movement. Our ***Legacy*** Day/Date Automatic is a true masterpiece of value. But we will negotiate further and include **two $100 Stauer Gift Coupons.** That's right, you get $200 in gift coupons with a $195 purchase. Why would I make this outrageous offer? Because my job is to give you a reason to come back to Stauer for all of your watches and jewelry and this philosophy is working. Our client list has grown by more than 40% this year, while those luxury brands flirt with Chapter 11.

The Stauer *Legacy* blends the best of vintage timepiece design with traditional timekeeping technology. Inside a 22k rose gold-fused, stainless steel case, you'll find an exquisite, antique guilloche face based on a 1920s classic that recently sold at auction for over $200,000. But the real beauty of the Legacy is on the inside. Based on a breakthrough 1923 movement, the innovative engine for this timepiece is powered by the body as the automatic rotor winds the mainspring. It never needs batteries. Fine automatic watches are prized by antique collectors and serious enthusiasts around the world.

In addition, the luxurious face is protected by a sturdy disc of scratch-proof crystal. It secures with a genuine brown leather, crocodile-pattern strap and is water-resistant to 3 ATM.

A Timely Deal. We are so sure that you will be fascinated by the vintage look of the Stauer ***Legacy*** watch that we offer a 30-day money back guarantee. If you are not totally impressed, return it for a full refund of the purchase price. This offer is limited to the first 4999, so order today.

WATCH SPECS:
- Rose gold-fused case
- 27-jewel automatic movement
- Date, day and day/night complications
- Croc-embossed leather strap - Fits 6 3/4"–8 3/4" wrist

Not Available in Stores

Stauer *Legacy* Watch—~~$295~~
Now $195 +S&P ***Save $100***

***Special Offer*—Receive $200 in Stauer Gift Coupons with the purchase of the Stauer *Legacy* Watch**

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-888-201-7074

Promotional Code LGW136-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. LGW136-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Padilla—who was apprehended in Chicago on a mission to carry out attacks in the U.S. This brings the tradeoff we face into sharp relief: Sometimes it takes harsh treatment to elicit information about mortal threats. It would be easy if enhanced interrogation didn't work; we could simply end it without consequence. But the world is not so simple.

■ In its original form, the mendaciously misnamed Employee Free Choice Act (EFCA) would have stripped American workers of the right to conduct secret-ballot elections on the question of whether to organize a union. In place of a traditional one-man/one-vote secret ballot, the EFCA would have imposed a regime of union-boss thuggery known as "card check," wherein labor activists pressure workers to sign off on a union-organizing petition, a much easier way to reach a serviceable majority. Democrats now have signaled their willingness to remove the card-check provision from EFCA. But the bill would still allow the National Labor Relations Board to impose contracts on businesses unilaterally. President Obama has picked a former Teamsters lawyer to chair the NLRB, and his other NLRB picks are equally radical if not more so. Businesses thus would find themselves in a double bind, forced either to negotiate with the unions from a position of weakness or to throw themselves on the mercy of the union-dominated NLRB. EFCA is invasive and anti-democratic, a naked sop to the unions that spent tens of millions of dollars electing Obama and his fellow Democrats. Congressional conservatives should labor mightily against it.

■ Goldman Sachs reports strong profits for the quarter, and the world rages. Why? The point of the bailout was to restore

Stars and State

I'm writing from Umbria, Italy. Earlier this week, the latest National Review Cruise came to an end, and my wife, my daughter, and I decamped for the hills just across the border from that trendier region, Tuscany. (Fah, Toscano! I spit at you!)

I'm also writing upon the much ballyhooed 40th anniversary of the first moon landing. It's funny how the media coverage is so self-congratulatory—as if the press had also done something great in July 1969. But what was so special? They had no correspondents on the scene, needless to say. For the most part, they merely took footage from a government agency and relied upon government experts and military personnel to provide context for the viewers.

GETTY

Perhaps the recent demise of Walter Cronkite, who announced the moon landing with panache, heightened the press's nostalgia for its allegedly golden moment. But surely part of the story is that the moon landing reminded today's TV journalists that there once was a time when broadcasters had the loyalty of the American people.

I don't mean to belittle the fourth estate, particularly when they do it so well themselves. In fact, I think America could use more moments like the moon landing, when everyone—young and old, black and white, rich and poor—is equally compelled to watch an event in awe and wonderment.

Which brings me back to Italy. Everywhere you go in Italy there's a beautiful church or magnificent cathedral. Many are little more than tourist attractions now, but their beauty endures. I know a little about cathedrals (years ago I made a documentary about Paris's Notre Dame). People today forget that they were in many ways the moon landings of their time, not just because of the technical feats involved in creating them, but because of the unifying and edifying spectacle they provided. In the 13th century and beyond, they were used to inspire (which shares a Latin root with aspire and spirit) all of Christendom. Most people could not read, so they told their stories through art, primarily sculpture and stained glass. The large squares in front of many cathedrals are modern inventions; originally you were supposed to turn a corner and see a cathedral suddenly before you. Your eyes would be instantly lifted heavenward.

The argument against cathedrals was that they cost so much money amidst so much poverty. The response was that they were the only form of art and awe available to rich and poor, belonging to the living and posterity, alike. The debate over space exploration mirrors this ancient controversy. After the moon landing, American liberals argued that it was a waste of resources when so many went wanting on earth. "If we can put a man on the moon, we can [spend billions on social program X, Y, or Z]."

President Obama himself offers such locutions on an hourly basis. Among the myriad problems with such hucksterism is that it rests on a false analogy, turning man's aspiration on its head. Putting a man on the moon lights a fire in mankind's imagination. Expanding Medicare disbursements, while perhaps worthwhile, is dross to the human spirit. I for one yearn for the day when we set things aright and proclaim, "If we can socialize medicine, we can send a man to Mars."

—JONAH GOLDBERG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Henry Philip Hope would be impressed with the superfine deep blue of the Stauer *Eternal Hope* Necklace. Ever since the original first surfaced centuries ago, it has been shrouded in legend and mystery."

— James T. Fent, *Stauer GIA Graduate Gemologist*

This colossal stone of more than 45 carats is enlarged to show details.

World's Most Famous Diamond Found Inside Toaster

Stauer introduces a 45½ carat, lab-created tribute to the legendary Hope Diamond!

It's a wonder that the *Hope Diamond* survived the 20th century. In the hands of eccentric millionaire heiress Evalyn Walsh McLean, the 45½ carat deep blue diamond was treated more like a fancy plaything than a precious gem. McLean wore it on rollercoasters, while swimming and when doing yard work. She hid it underneath couch cushions and from time to time, even kept it inside her toaster!

These days, the *Hope Diamond* is the superstar of the National Gem Collection at the Smithsonian's Museum of Natural History. And even though the spectacular blue stone attracts millions of visitors a year, it looks lonely stuck behind that 3-inch bulletproof glass. So we decided to set it free.

Science recreates a legend of luxury. We challenged our gemologists to reimagine the largest and most perfect blue diamond in existence. They came back with the magnificent ***Eternal Hope Necklace***, a 45 ½ carat, lab-created beauty inspired by the $350 million original. Using the legendary *Hope* as their guide, they carefully cut lab-created blue spinel to match the shape, the geometric angles and the exact carat weight of the world famous stone.

The *Hope Diamond* remains one of the world's most unattainable treasures, but we've set the price of our ***Eternal Hope Necklace*** at an unbelievably accessible $195!

When being called a "jewel thief" is a badge of honor. The final product is so convincing that it will surely have museum curators double checking their vault. Our update keeps the allure of the original, the magic that captivated Maharajahs, kings and queens.

The custom-cut stone is brilliant cobalt blue lab-created spinel. Spinels are considered the greatest impostors in gemstone history. One of the most valuable gemstones in the world, the *Black Prince* in the British Crown Jewels, was only recently discovered to be a spinel. They are favored by jewelers because of their brilliance and hardness. And the structure of a spinel is similar to a diamond—they both have the same high symmetry (4/m bar 3 2/m).

Don't forget the eye-catching 6 ctw Eternal Hope Ring.

Add the world's most famous rock band. Enhance the look of your stunning Necklace with the ***Eternal Hope Ring***, a gorgeous 6-carat version of the pendant stone, prong-set on a .925 sterling silver band. Flanked by 10 dazzling, lab-created DiamondAura®, the Ring perfectly complements the pendant.

Try the ***Eternal Hope Necklace*** for 30 days. If for any reason you are not satisfied with your purchase, simply return it to us for a full refund of the purchase price. Don't miss this chance to claim your own historic piece of Hope!

JEWELRY SPECS:

- 45 ½ carat faceted blue spinel center stone
- Stone's dimensions: 21 x 17 x 8 ½ mm
- Diamond*Aura*® accents
- .925 sterling silver setting, bail and chain
- 18" cable chain with 2" extender
- Ring sizes 5-10

Eternal Hope Necklace
(45 ½ ctw) MSRP ~~$1,110~~
Your price **$195** +s&p

Eternal Hope Ring
(6 ctw) MSRP ~~$820~~
Your price **$145** +s&p

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-888-201-7075

Promotional Code HDN132-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. HDN132-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

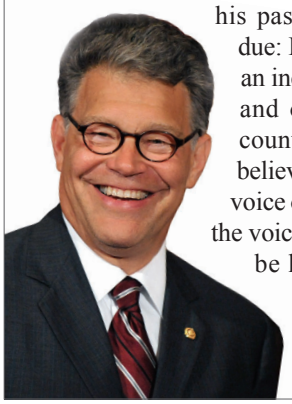
Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stability to the banking system, and profitable banks are necessary for that. Goldman Sachs has repaid bailout money out of those profits and seeks to repurchase the taxpayers' ownership interest. Goldman Sachs is an easy bank to hate, because it is a political operator as well as a financial one; but to the extent that politicians are interested in business, it is necessary that businessmen be interested in politics. Still, don't weep for Goldman Sachs: If government is backstopping your business, government has an interest in every aspect of your operation, including the salaries it pays. And Goldman takes an interest in government's business, too: As California spends itself into pauperdom, Goldman Sachs profits handily by underwriting billions in state bonds. Anyone for the separation of bank and state?

■ Several members of the U.S. military are resisting orders to deploy to Afghanistan under the specious argument that the president of the United States holds his office illegitimately. This is an extension of the canard, lamentably immortal in some conservative circles, that there is some question as to Barack Obama's citizenship status. The president's birth certificate has been examined, photographed, and analyzed by reporters. The authorities in Hawaii, where the president was born, have confirmed its authenticity. A scan of the document has been released to the general public. Obama's birth announcement appeared in the Honolulu newspapers in the week following his birth. FactCheck.org has extensively documented its study of this urban legend, and a handful of legal actions initiated under this theory have been dismissed as baseless. To those soldiers resisting their deployment, we send an editorial white feather. To those conservatives still trafficking in this nonsense, we send a word of advice: There are plenty of real reasons to oppose Barack Obama and his statist ambitions—being the party of reality, conservatives have no need of imaginary ones.

■ Al Franken (D., Minn.) took his seat in the U.S. Senate. We will spare him and ourselves all the rim-shot lines about his past and give credit where credit is due: He ran a strong enough race to fight an incumbent to a draw, then out-hustled and out-lawyered him during the recounts. Democrats (with a small "d") believe that the voice of the people is the voice of God, but when sifting the *vox dei*, the voice of the courts must sometimes also be heeded, as George W. Bush well knows. Minnesota Republicans can avoid a repeat by doing a better job before Election Day.



■ Marion Barry, four times mayor of Washington, D.C., and currently a council member representing the city's eighth ward, can always be relied upon to add to the gaiety of the nation. The 73-year-old councilman's electoral appeal seems only to have been increased by his previous run-ins with the law (drug possession, tax evasion). In early July he was arrested again, this time on suspicion of stalking his ex-girlfriend, 40-year-old Donna Watts-Brighthaupt. That charge was dropped, but in the course of inquiries it emerged that Ms. Watts-Brighthaupt had been put on the city's payroll two months after she began dating Barry, eventually being paid $15,000 for city work. What did she do? She "researched and formulated guidelines to implement the Emerging Leaders Ward 8 program," says the *Washington Post*. Valuable and essential work, obviously. We shake our heads, smile, crack a joke or two, and pass on from good ol' Marion's doings to matters we consider actually important—a category that does not include the governance of our nation's capital.

■ President Obama's address to the Ghanaian parliament in Accra may be the best speech of his administration so far. Obama told his audience to look in the mirror for their problems, and their solutions. "Africa's future is up to Africans. . . . The West is not responsible for the destruction of the Zimbabwean economy over the last decade, or wars in which children are enlisted as combatants. . . . No business wants to invest in a place where the government skims 20 percent off the top. . . . Development depends on good governance, [which] is a responsibility that can only be met by Africans." He offered American help in fighting disease and praised George W. Bush's efforts to combat AIDS. He also offered American help in building civil society, the task with the longest arc and the one with which foreigners can help the least—but they can do better that than dumping aid packages on kleptocrats. Well done.

■ Obama also addressed the NAACP. He spoke a fair amount of left-liberal claptrap. But he also spoke some bracing realism. Black kids, like other kids, may be poor or face long odds, he said. "But that's not a reason to get bad grades. That's not a reason to cut class. That's not a reason to give up on your education and drop out of school. No one has written your destiny for you. Your destiny is in your hands—you cannot forget that. That's what we have to teach all our children. No excuses. No excuses." Bravo.

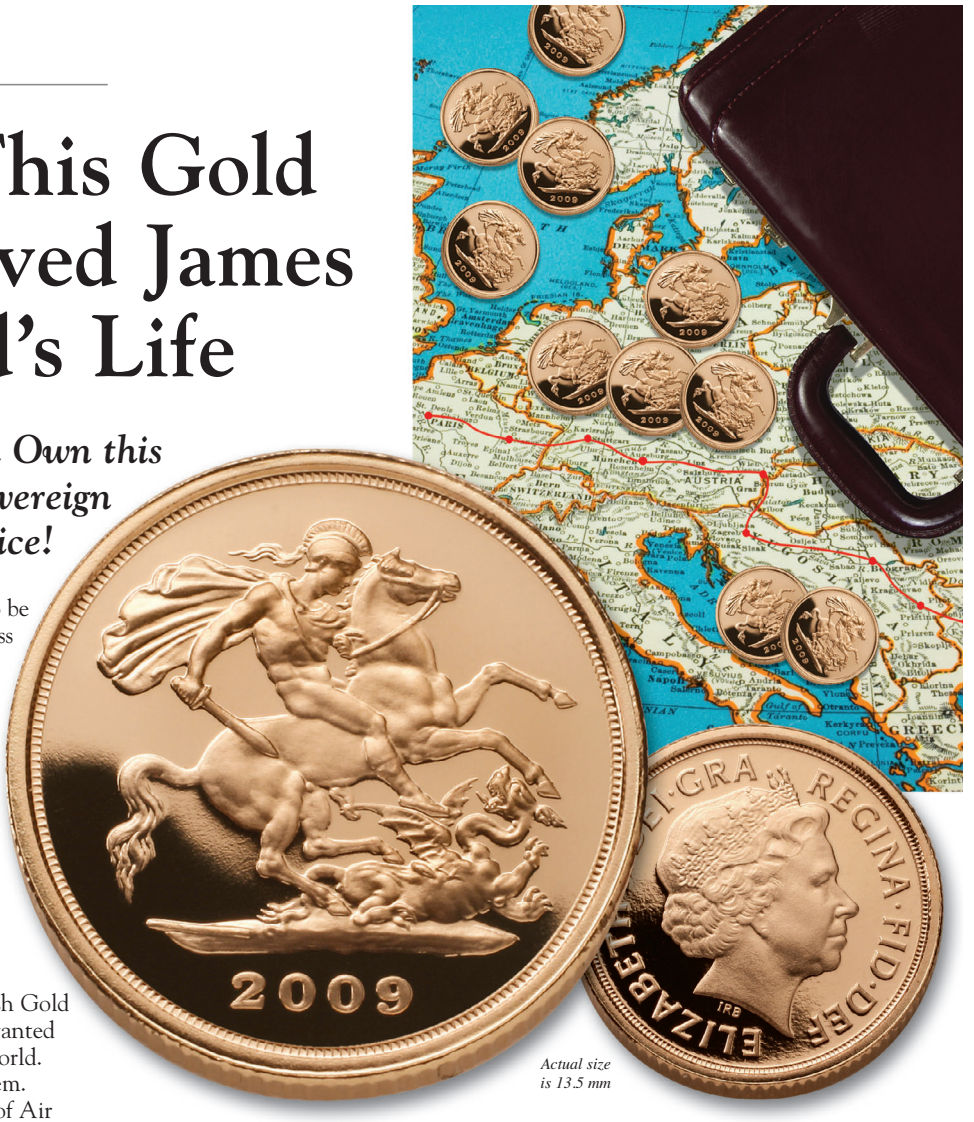
■ The crackdown in Iran is intensifying. Nobody knows how many people the regime has killed. Families are searching through prisons, hospitals, police stations, and the Revolutionary Court for those missing. Scores of journalists and activists have been arrested and are now untraceable. One such is Shadi Sadr, a prominent lawyer and women's-rights advocate. As she was out walking in Tehran, plainclothes officers pulled her into a car and were seen to beat her. "Supreme Leader" Ali Khamenei and his presidential candidate, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, lead a faction with a monopoly on force. The rival faction consists of former president Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and Mir-Hossein Mousavi, one of the candidates defeated in the recent rigged elections, and their appeal is to public opinion. Tens of thousands turned up at Tehran University to listen to Rafsanjani preach. Astonishingly brave, they chanted anti-regime slogans, and the police responded with clouds of tear gas. Rafsanjani criticized the election and its aftermath. The public can no longer trust its representatives, he said, and this is the cause of "bitter" crisis. Still, he seemed to be suggesting a deal whereby he and his faction would call off the protests and demonstrations if the election results would be referred to the supreme court for final judgment. The Khamenei-Ahmadinejad faction will have none of that, and warns its rivals to be careful. That this power struggle calls into

RON SACHS/CNP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why This Gold Coin Saved James Bond's Life

And Why You Can Own this First-Ever Gold Sovereign at a Crazy Low Price!



Actual size is 13.5 mm

When James Bond was about to be eliminated on the Orient Express in *From Russia With Love*, he offered the assassin 50 Gold Sovereigns stashed in his attaché case for one last cigarette. Of course, the trick case foiled the killer—but there isn't any doubt why Bond's attaché case was full of Gold Sovereigns.

The World Standard for Gold

For hundreds of years the British Gold Sovereign has been the most-wanted standard of value around the world. M5 and CIA agents carried them. They were in the survival kits of Air Force pilots on secret missions. Why? Because if you get into a jam anywhere in the world, Gold Sovereigns will beat cash or credit cards every time.

Savvy gold owners have been socking away Gold Sovereigns for centuries. But this year there is a NEW Gold Sovereign that even most knowledgeable buyers don't know about—and it could well be the best gold bargain in the history of Gold Sovereigns.

The First Ever Gold Quarter Sovereign—Extremely Limited Supply!

The total mintage for the first-ever Gold Quarter Sovereign has been limited by the government to 50,000 coins. The problem is, this is hardly enough for British citizens as well as millions of European collectors, let alone the rest of the world.

In 1817 the first Gold Sovereign had a mintage of 3.2 million and has sold recently for $3,450. The 1917 sovereign had a mintage of just over 1 million and is valued as high as $12,500! Past performance is no guarantee of future value, but for many Gold Sovereigns, *the lower the mintage, the greater the desirability to collectors!* With a mintage of only 50,000, GovMint.com has obtained a limited supply for the U.S. market.

Our Lowest Price Ever!

GovMint.com is releasing the *first-ever* Quarter Gold Sovereign now at a terrific value. As little as $119 each (plus s&h)—***our lowest price ever on British Gold Sovereigns!***

Reserve Yours—Risk Free

- 91.7% gold
- Gem Brilliant Uncirculated
- Official Royal Mint packaging with govt. Certificate of Authenticity

GUARANTEE: You must be 100% satisfied with your Gold Quarter Sovereigns or simply return them within 30 days for a full refund (less s&h). ***Call now toll-free to reserve yours.***

Buy More to Save More!

- ***1-4 Gold Quarter Sovereigns $129 each****
- ***5-9 Gold Quarter Sovereigns $124 each* SAVE UP TO $25***
- ***10+ Gold Quarter Sovereigns $119 each* SAVE $100 OR MORE***

** Plus shipping and handling*

Toll-Free 24 Hours a Day
1-888-201-7060

Offer Code GSV118
Please mention this code when you call.

GovMint.com
YOUR ONE BEST SOURCE FOR COINS WORLDWIDE
14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. GSV118
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

www.GovMint.com

BBB ACCREDITED BUSINESS

Note: GovMint.com. is a private distributor of worldwide government coin issues and is not affiliated with the United States Government. Strictly limited supply available on a first-come, first-served basis. Prices subject to change without notice. ©GovMint.com, 2009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

question the legitimacy of the entire clerical establishment only adds to the likelihood of further violence.

■ A *Jerusalem Post* interview of a member of Iran's Basiji militia has shed light on horrific practices toward female inmates in the country's prisons. Under the mullahs' laws, it is illegal to execute virgins, and therefore young women who have been sentenced to death (sometimes for minor crimes) are routinely "married" to prison guards and raped by their "husbands" on the eve of their executions. Thus Islamist justice is done.

■ In 2001, Robert Fisk, the hard-Left, jihad-sympathetic British journalist, was attacked by Afghan refugees along the Afghan–Pakistani border. He wrote that "young men . . . began smashing stones into my face and head. I couldn't see for the blood pouring down my forehead and swamping my eyes. And even then, I understood. I couldn't blame them for what they were doing. In fact, if I were the Afghan refugees . . . I would have done just the same to Robert Fisk. Or any other Westerner I could find." Flash forward to November 2008. A Dutch journalist, Joanie de Rijke, is kidnapped by the Taliban in Afghanistan. They did "horrible things to me," she has now written in a book. They raped her for days on end. But "they also respected me." And "they are not monsters." Between bouts of rape, they gave her tea and biscuits. And the commander, she explains, "could not control his testosterone. I had the impression that afterwards he regretted what had happened." De Rijke denies that she is suffering from Stockholm syndrome. But she and Fisk are suffering from something.

■ The political showdown in Honduras is about far more than the future of a tiny, strategically insignificant country nestled between the Caribbean and the Pacific. It is about setting a precedent that authoritarian maneuvers of the Hugo Chávez variety will not be tolerated by modern Latin American democracies. The Venezuelan leader continues to insist that deposed Honduran president Manuel Zelaya be restored to his former office. Zelaya warns that if he is not reinstalled as president, "other measures will be taken." The Obama administration badly bungled its initial response to Zelaya's ouster, which was both necessary and constitutional. The administration is now supporting diplomatic negotiations brokered by Costa Rican president Óscar Arias. But Zelaya refuses to compromise. It should be obvious that a president who was arrested and exiled for trying to hijack his country's democracy can never recover his legitimacy. Early elections and a conditional amnesty for Zelaya strike us as the most equitable solution. The interim Honduran government seems willing to accept that. Zelaya does not, and has called for an "insurrection." No U.S. official should pretend he is fit for office.

■ When Secretary of State Clinton visited India, she signed accords on issues of importance to both nations: a defense pact that will allow the sale of advanced American weaponry to India, a commitment to cooperate in commercial space exploration, and an agreement that will permit U.S. companies to sell two civilian nuclear reactors to India. (Indians can build new nuclear reactors, but Americans cannot build nuclear power plants—why is that, precisely?) The Obama administration does well to continue the work begun by Pres. George W. Bush, whose careful diplomatic attentions to New Delhi refreshed relations between the world's two largest democracies, the relationship between which had long been fraught with residual mistrust from the Cold War. But some things were not up for much discussion on Clinton's trip: Affirming that India has no intention of cutting greenhouse gases, environmental minister Jairam Ramesh gave the secretary of state the rough side of his tongue on the subject of Obama's fanciful green agenda: "There is simply no case for the pressure that we, who have been among the lowest emitters per capita, face to actually reduce emissions," he said. "And as if this pressure was not enough, we also face the threat of carbon tariffs on our exports to countries such as yours." Ramesh's concerns are well placed. India is a key ally, situated between China and Pakistan, and the Obama administration ought to think twice before it launches a trade assault on it in the name of global warming.

India is a key ally, situated between China and Pakistan, and the Obama administration ought to think twice before it launches a trade assault on it in the name of global warming.

■ During his visit to Moscow, Obama signed a new arms-control deal with Russian president Dmitry Medvedev. The preliminary agreement, designed to replace the 1991 START I Treaty, would reduce U.S. and Russian stockpiles of nuclear warheads and strategic delivery systems. "We must lead by example, and that's what we are doing here today," Obama declared. "We resolve to reset U.S.-Russian relations so that we can cooperate more effectively in areas of common interest." Unfortunately, the areas of U.S.-Russian discord are more important than those of "common interest," and the Obama-Medvedev pact is a pointless distraction at best. American policy toward Moscow should have three main objectives: Get the Russians to stop threatening their former Soviet client states; get them to cease aiding Iran's nuclear program; and get them to accept a U.S.-built missile shield in Eastern Europe. Obama made zero progress on these issues. In fact, he indicated a willingness to negotiate over missile defense, much to the consternation of our Polish and Czech allies. If only we could hit "reset" on Obama's foreign policy.

■ *Arab News* reported that executives of Human Rights Watch have raised funds from Saudi plutocrats by touting HRW's harsh criticism of Israel. The story prompted charges that HRW is selling out its ideals, but the real scandal is that it isn't:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOSE

Presenting the Acoustic Wave® music system II.

Our best one-piece music system.

When we introduced the original Acoustic Wave® music system, *Sound & Vision* said it delivered "possibly the best-reproduced sound many people have ever heard." And the *Oregonian* reported it had "changed the way many Americans listen to music."

Today, the improved Acoustic Wave® music system II builds on our more than 40 years of industry-leading innovation to deliver even better sound. This is the best one-piece music system we've ever made, with sound that rivals large and complicated stereos. There's no stack of equipment. No tangle of wires. Just all-in-one convenience and lifelike sound.

Even better sound than its award-winning predecessor. With recently developed Bose® technologies, our engineers were able to make the acclaimed sound even more natural. We believe you'll appreciate the quality even at volume levels approaching that of a live performance.

Shown in Graphite Gray with optional 5-CD Changer.

Use it where you like. This small system fits almost anywhere. You can move it from room to room, or take it outside. It has what you need to enjoy your music, including a built-in CD player and digital FM/AM tuner. You also can easily connect additional sources like your MP3 player or TV.

Hear it yourself risk free for 30 days. Use our Excitement Guarantee to try it for 30 days. Order by August 31, 2009, and you'll receive one of our Bose on-ear headphones free – a $179 value. These comfortable headphones deliver well-balanced sound with deep low notes, making them an excellent choice for private music listening with the system or another audio source. When you call, ask about making **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.* Compare the performance of the Acoustic Wave® music system II with large, multi-component stereos costing much more. And discover why Bose is the most respected name in sound.

FREE Bose on-ear headphones when you order by August 31, 2009.

To order or learn more:

1-800-314-3416, ext. G8514

www.Bose.com/AWMS2

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Phone_____ E-mail (Optional) _____

Mail to: Bose Corp., Dept. DMG MS730A, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

IN THE HOME • AROUND THE HOME • AWAY FROM HOME

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $299-$1500 paid by major credit card. Separate financing offers may be available for select products. See website for details. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus applicable tax and shipping charges, charged when your order is shipped. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments beginning approximately one month from the date your order is shipped, with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2009 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The distinctive designs of the Acoustic Wave® music system II and headphone oval ring are also trademarks of Bose Corporation. Financing and headphone offers not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. If system is returned, headphones must be returned for a full refund. Offer is limited to purchases made from Bose and participating authorized dealers. Headphone offer valid 7/1/09-8/31/09. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Quotes reprinted with permission: *Sound & Vision*, 3/85; Wayne Thompson, *Oregonian*, 9/10/96.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HRW's commitment to smearing Israel and whitewashing its enemies is no tactic of expediency, but a course of deepest principle. The group doggedly recycles discredited tales of Israeli war crimes, yet after a fundraising jaunt to a certain oil-rich land where juveniles are publicly beheaded, rape victims are executed, and anyone advocating democracy can be locked up, it fed the media this: "Human Rights Watch said Friday Saudi Arabia has pledged to improve women's rights by eliminating gender discrimination." HRW originated as a stalwart monitor of Soviet repression, and even today it does some good work in other parts of the world; but its monomania about Israel and its unhealthy dependence on tainted money are rapidly poisoning whatever credibility it retains.

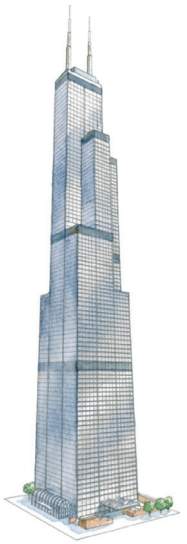
■ "We are told not to work on Saturdays, and Protestants take this to mean that we are not to play on Sundays," grumbled Bertrand Russell in regard to the Fourth Commandment. It is difficult to see why the French, whose republican ideals are hostile to religion, should pay any regard at all to Sabbath observance. Oddly, they do, and the French economy labors under (or rather, is prohibited from laboring under) laws restricting commercial activity on Sundays. Now the Sarkozy administration is lifting some of the restrictions. A law to this effect narrowly passed the French lower house in mid-July. It was opposed by Socialists, whose labor-union sponsors want to keep the mandatory day off, and Greens, who think there is far too much commercial activity already. All credit to President Sarkozy for trying to introduce some flexibility into his nation's economy. Now, Monsieur le Président, about the month of August . . .

■ A Nuremberg gallery owner created a furor when he placed a garden gnome giving the Nazi salute in his shop window. A resident complained that the gnome violated Germany's constitution, which prohibits the display of Nazi symbols unless they are used in an unequivocally critical way. The artist, Ottmar Hörl, professed to be stunned and pointed out in his defense that he has made 700 of the gnomes and displayed them in Italy and Belgium. Prosecutors didn't know what to make of that. The gallery owner, Ernst Weigl, says he never realized that the gnome was giving the forbidden salute: "To me, it looks a bit like when you gesture to a dachshund to jump up to your hand." And understandably so—who thinks of Nazis in Nuremberg? Still, Weigl and Hörl will be interviewed, and if their anti-Nazism seems insufficiently vehement, they risk being sentenced to three years in prison. This could be the first case on record of a political artist's going to jail for being too subtle.

■ In his new encyclical on the Catholic Church's social teaching, *Caritas in Veritate*, Pope Benedict XVI stresses humanitarian action rather than the profit motive as the solution to man's socioeconomic problems. In its practical recommendations, however, the encyclical appears to be riding two horses—the russet horse of those who think the state is the main road to the common good, and the pale horse of those who think a strictly limited state should spur a thousand free initiatives and civic actions as a surer way to the common good. But as the pope takes pains to remind us, Catholic social thought does not provide technical solutions and does not prescribe specific programs and policies. On these, Catholics of the Left, the center, and the Right can continue to disagree. Still, the pope's practical reflections on political economy and current perplexities help to sharpen the arguments. The parts of the encyclical that most clearly bear the familiar marks of Benedict's own *caritas* are the ones most likely to endure.

■ President Obama has made an excellent choice in his nomination of a new director for the National Institutes of Health. Dr. Francis S. Collins is not only one of the world's most distinguished geneticists—as head of the Human Genome Project, he joined President Clinton and fellow scientist J. Craig Venter in announcing the working draft of the map of the human genome in 2000—but also a believing Christian. In 2006, he published a major book, *The Language of God: A Scientist Presents Evidence for Belief*, in which he argued firmly against both dogmatic atheism and intelligent-design theory. His is an independent mind, to be welcomed at NIH.

■ The office of surgeon general has never really recovered from the incumbency of Joycelyn Elders in the early Clinton years. Though sober and capable officeholders since then have tried to restore some dignity to the post, the recollection of Ms. Elders's injunctions to self-abuse, together with that Ruritanian uniform, sustain the general feeling that the surgeon general belongs more to the world of show business than to serious government. President Obama's nomination of Dr. Regina M. Benjamin as our next surgeon general has generated another risible controversy. Though clever, accomplished, and public-spirited, Dr. Benjamin is . . . portly. What kind of example is that? ask the health nags. Portly she may be, but Dr. Benjamin is not obese, and public discourse already defers far too much to the nags. We welcome her as a counterweight (so to speak) against the odious doctrine that in America you can never be too thin or too rich.



GETTY

■ The Sears Tower, once the tallest building in the world, and then merely the tallest building in America, is no more. It still stands. And it's still the tallest building in America. But now it is called the Willis Tower, for a British insurance company that agreed to lease three floors. We well understand the capitalist imperative. But, sometimes, it's hard to lose names. Chicagoans say they will never stop calling their building "the Sears Tower." But they will, over time—just as Mt. McKinley is disappearing, in favor of "Denali." Farewell, "Sears" Tower, nice to have known you! (Already, the name "Roebuck" is pretty much a footnote in history.)

■ Tom Watson is one of the greatest golfers of all time, the winner of eight majors, plus many other tournaments. He was the chief rival of Jack Nicklaus during the last stage of Nicklaus's (supreme) career. They had a famous duel at Turnberry, Scotland, in the British Open of 1977. Watson won. And he was back at Turnberry in mid-July for another British Open. He was, is, 59 years old. And he was leading the tournament on the 72nd

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hole, which is to say the last hole of regulation play. He did not hold that lead. And in the playoff, he faltered badly, and lost (to another American, Stewart Cink). In his four rounds at Turnberry, Watson showed the grace, poise, and mastery for which his golf is famous. He owns—still owns—one of the five or so greatest swings ever. He came within inches of the miraculous: namely, winning a major at his age, something never done before. (Julius Boros won the PGA at 48.) Watson did not close the deal, but he gave the golf-watching world a thrill not soon to be forgotten. And we hope that, despite the loss, he is somehow thrilled, too.

■ Those images, strange not because of the scenery, which was prosaic, but because of the peculiar brightness; the astronauts' scratchy voices and bulky movements; the windless flag they planted . . . There has been a lot of other news in the 40 years since Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin landed on the moon, a lot of it arguably more consequential. But none of it has been entirely new; everything, in the words of Ecclesiastes, has been seen under the sun, one way or another, as long as there have been men on earth. These men, and the ten that followed them in the Apollo space program, went to another earth, small, subsidiary, airless, useless; amorous, maddening, blazing, watchful. Juliet asked Romeo not to swear by it, and barbershop quartets sang of its silvery light. Our astronauts touched it, and left their footprints. The first of many, there and elsewhere.

■ Walter Cronkite, longtime anchor of the *CBS Evening News*, was the voice of received opinion. His career tracked the era of nationalist liberalism that came out of World War II expecting to run and improve the world. His media peers were the anchors of the two other networks; the editors of *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Life*, and *Look*; and newspapermen sobered after the years of Hearst and Pulitzer. When Cronkite declared that the Vietnam War was lost, Pres. Lyndon Johnson was not only dismayed, but, one feels, a little impressed. Many forces eroded that cultural consensus, including the conservative movement: When Spiro Agnew attacked "nattering nabobs of negativism," he had Cronkite (among many others) in mind. Our era, churned by cultural and technological upheaval, is multiform, chaotic, often raucous or stupid; but there is light as well as din. Consumers and producers alike must make the best of it. Dead at 92. R.I.P.

■ When President Kennedy asked 44-year-old Robert McNamara to be secretary of defense, McNamara said, correctly, that he was "not qualified." He took the job anyway. McNamara was a systems analyst who had helped turn Ford around; he had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel in World War II, teaching statistical methods to air officers. Better if he had worked on a political campaign or served in a platoon. As Kennedy's and Johnson's SecDef, he made a few good calls, but he failed to understand warfare. He thought the Vietnamese Communists could be bombed by increments, and lost heart when that strategy needed to be changed. He spent the remainder of his life mired in guilt, which only sharpened the taunts of his left-wing enemies. "War is so complex that it's beyond the ability of the human mind to comprehend," he said in the 2003 documentary *The Fog of War*. That means that the harder-minded will wage it. Dead at 93. R.I.P.

■ The world's oldest man, and one of the few remaining survivors of World War I, died in England, aged 113. Henry Allingham joined Britain's Royal Naval Air Service as a mechanic in September 1915, and saw action both on the Western Front and in the great sea battle of Jutland. Allingham had clear memories of Queen Victoria's funeral (1901) and the Wright brothers' first flight (1903). He was a founding member of the Royal Air Force, which was formed in April 1918, but always considered himself a Navy man. After his war service he entered useful employment and married the woman he loved. The marriage lasted half a century, to Mrs. Allingham's death. Henry's living descendants include 14 great-great grandchildren and one great-great-great grandchild. "The oldest hath borne most: we that are young / Shall never see so much, nor live so long." R.I.P.

HEALTH CARE

Condition Critical

THERE are several urgent problems with the U.S. health-care system, and the Democrats have found the wrong solutions to most of them. The problems are these: A number of people lack health insurance because they cannot afford it; others have insurance but are tied to employer-based plans that cost too much and provide too little, while leaving families insecure in their coverage as unemployment rises; and a number of factors—including the lack of real nationwide competition in the insurance market, poorly administered government-entitlement programs, and rapacious personal-injury attorneys—conspire to drive up health-care costs. What Americans need is reform that provides better choices, lower prices, and security of coverage through an open marketplace that is competitive and consumer-driven. What the Obama administration and congressional Democrats offer is rationing under a government monopoly.

Central to President Obama's health-care agenda is a "public option," i.e., a government-run insurance program. Notwithstanding the government isn't doing a great job with the insurance firms it already runs (see AIG), it is likely that such an enterprise would quickly come to dominate the market: Backed by Uncle Sam's strong arm, the insurer would be able to pass along its costs to its private-sector competitors and, like most government enterprises, probably would be exempt from taxation and the thousand unnatural shocks that private-sector business is heir to. Millions would be forced into the government-run program, because the proposed legislation would restrict new

Reminder to Subscribers

■ Several agencies are soliciting your NATIONAL REVIEW subscription renewal without our authorization. Please reply only to NATIONAL REVIEW renewal notices with a return address in Mount Morris, Ill., and ignore all requests for renewal that are not directly payable to NATIONAL REVIEW, as these may be fraudulent. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

private-insurance enrollments after the bill became law. If your employer dropped your coverage, for example, you'd be forbidden under the Democrats' proposal to buy a new policy in the private market.

The Democrats are trying to bowl Americans over with the rhetoric of crisis, and there's a good reason for that: The more time Americans have to study this proposal, the less they like it. Obama is falling in the polls, and he is falling in particular on the question of whether Americans trust him on health care. They have good reason to believe that the president is not playing it straight with them. Obama keeps saying that nobody who is satisfied with his current health-insurance plan will be forced out of it, but the House bill would do just that to about 80 million Americans. As a candidate, Obama promised not to raise taxes on the middle class, but his mandates on both individuals and employers amount to hidden taxes on middle-class workers. On top of all this, Obama's vision comes with a price tag of between $1 trillion and $1.5 trillion, and entitlements almost always cost more than originally advertised. Put another way, on health care alone Obama proposes to spend more than the entire U.S. federal budget in 1986.

Conservatives are right on the argument, and the polls suggest that the electorate is increasingly on their side. Their aim should be nothing less than the total defeat of Obamacare.

SUPREME COURT

Unsettling

KAREN BLEIER/AFP

WHO is the real Sonia Sotomayor? At the start of her confirmation hearings, that was the central question: Is she the unremarkable but relatively mainstream jurist of her 17 years as a lower-court judge, or the race-baiting grievance-monger of her many speeches and years of activism at the leftist Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund? After three days of testimonial contortions, three things could confidently be said: We still don't have an answer to the question; she will sail to confirmation thanks to the wagon-circling by Senate Democrats determined to take credit for elevating the first Hispanic to the high court; and, despite having a filibuster-proof majority that would enable confirmation of any liberal nominee, no matter how extreme, Democrats and Sotomayor herself realized that their interests lay in presenting the nominee as a center-right moderate—one who, at times, sounded more like Robert Bork than like the "wise Latina."

Some of Sotomayor's retreats were breathtaking. First and foremost, she adamantly rejected the criterion that got her nominated in the first place, the Obama "empathy" standard: The judge's only proper function, she said, is to apply "settled" law to the facts of each case. She weaseled about the concept of "settled"—asserting that Supreme Court precedents are only as enduring as the notoriously pliable doctrine of *stare decisis* requires. There was, however, no mistaking her insistence that judges not base decisions on anything as capricious as their subjective sense of justice for the downtrodden.

In that vein, she stubbornly denied her past radicalism. The set-up for her infamous, oft-repeated remark that a "wise Latina" would make better decisions "than a white male" had been a pointed disagreement with former Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, who had observed that a "wise old man and wise old woman will reach the same conclusion in deciding cases." Yet Sotomayor now claims she agreed with O'Connor all along—we were all just missing her point. Sotomayor walked away from her recorded comment that federal appeals courts are "where policy is made," repeating like a mantra that Congress alone makes policy while judges simply apply the law. And despite having only a few months ago told the ACLU of Puerto Rico that judges should resort to foreign law to "help us understand . . . whether our understanding of our own constitutional rights fell into the mainstream of human thinking," Sotomayor repeatedly stressed her current—and, she claims, non-contradictory—belief that "American law does not permit the use of foreign law or international law to interpret the Constitution."

Try as she might, the nominee could not explain sweeping under the rug, in a curt, unpublished order, the discrimination claim of New Haven firefighters, most of them white, who were denied promotions even though black applicants did not do well enough on the promotional exam to secure any slots. She postured about having followed precedent but clearly had not. And though she gamely attempted to spin the Supreme Court's recent reversal of her decision as a "new test," even the four dissenting Supreme Court justices rejected her indefensible handling of the case.

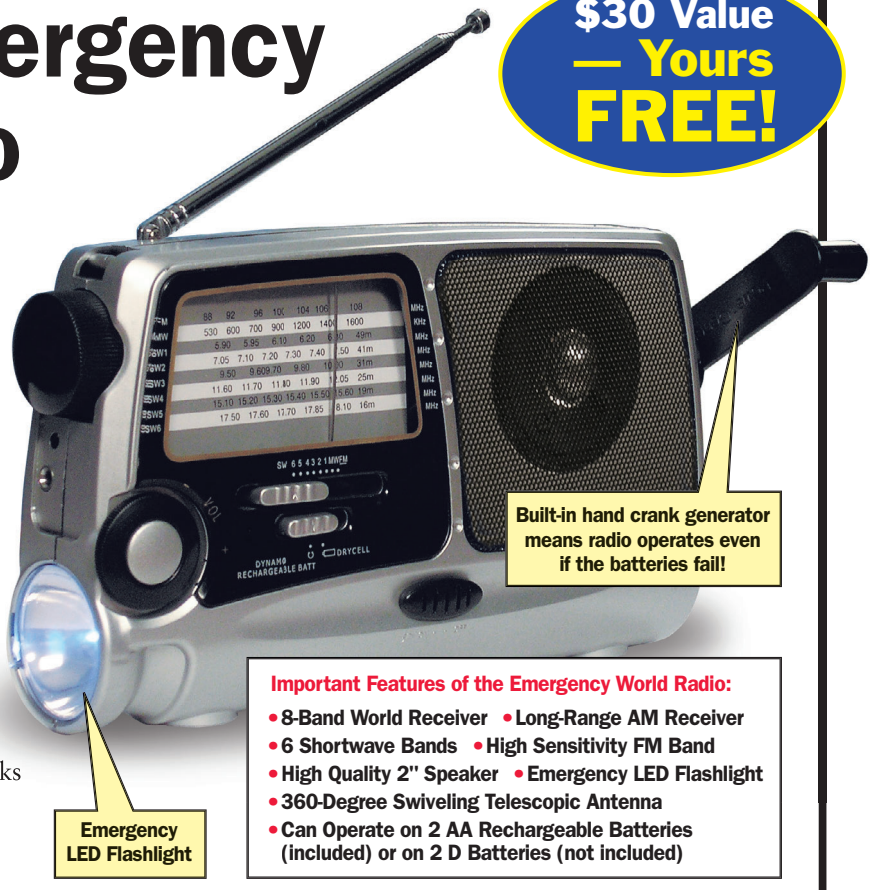
Nothing—not even the pained cries of leftist legal analysts dismayed by Sotomayor's confirmation conversion—will derail this nomination. We can take comfort only in the fact that this unimpressive nominee will not be a force on the Court.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

URGENT MESSAGE

Get the Emergency World Radio FREE!

$30 Value — Yours FREE!



The U.S. Department of Homeland Security* advises that every American home have an emergency radio.

Every home needs an emergency radio in the event of hurricanes, tornadoes, earthquakes, electric power outages, and even terrorist attacks.

Be Prepared in Any Circumstance!

This **Dynamo Emergency World Band Radio** picks up the full AM/FM spectrum and worldwide shortwave bands.

Most importantly, the **Dynamo Emergency World Band Radio** includes:

- **HAND CRANK GENERATOR (IN CASE BATTERIES FAIL)**
- **EMERGENCY FLASHLIGHT**

Important Features of the Emergency World Radio:

- **8-Band World Receiver**
- **Long-Range AM Receiver**
- **6 Shortwave Bands**
- **High Sensitivity FM Band**
- **High Quality 2" Speaker**
- **Emergency LED Flashlight**
- **360-Degree Swiveling Telescopic Antenna**
- **Can Operate on 2 AA Rechargeable Batteries (included) or on 2 D Batteries (not included)**

Newsmax Magazine's Incredible Offer — $20 Bonus!

Newsmax magazine wants every American family to have this emergency radio and we'll send it to you for FREE! Just pay our standard shipping and handling charge of $5.95.

When you order your FREE **Dynamo Emergency World Band Radio**, you'll also receive four free issues of **Newsmax magazine** — a $20 value — yours FREE!

Newsmax magazine brings you exclusive stories the major media won't report. Even they can't ignore **Newsmax magazine** — which has been cited on Meet the Press, CNN, Fox News, Rush Limbaugh, MSNBC, and many other outlets.

Each month in **Newsmax magazine** you'll read hard-hitting investigative reports and special commentaries from **Ben Stein, Dick Morris, Bill O'Reilly, Dr. Laura Schlessinger, James Hirsen, John Stossel, David Limbaugh, Thomas Sowell, Michael Reagan, Christopher Ruddy,** and many others.

Fox News commentator **Dick Morris** calls **Newsmax** "a must read" for every informed American. Call or go online today to get the **Dynamo Emergency World Band Radio** and 4 months of **Newsmax magazine** — a combined value of $50 — FREE!

Get Your FREE Emergency Radio

PLEASE HURRY! THIS IS A LIMITED TIME OFFER

Order Online:
www.Newsmax.com/Review

Order by Phone:
1-800-485-4350 ext. 82

YOUR SPECIAL OFFER CODE **82AB-1**

* This offer and radio are not approved or endorsed by the federal government or Homeland Security.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Obamanopoly

In which the government's tentacles choke health-care consumers

BY REGINA E. HERZLINGER

A FEW years ago, while vacationing in New Hampshire, I stopped in one of its state-owned liquor stores to buy kosher wine for the upcoming Jewish holidays. I could not find any. But right across the state line, a privately owned Massachusetts liquor store that served the same communities had lots of choices.

Are the people who run the New Hampshire liquor stores prejudiced? No. They are bureaucrats. The difference between a bureaucrat and a retailer is profound: Retailers maximize profit by giving people better value for the money. A McKinsey Global Institute study credited retailing with 34 percent of the 1995–99 surge in U.S. labor productivity and for much of its growth through 2002. Consider the retailing innovations of convenient outlets such as eBay, Amazon, and Netflix, or the availability of inexpensive, stylish goods from the likes of Ikea and Target. U.S. retailers offer more than 170,000 book titles, 211 car models, and countless custom-designed PCs.

But maximizing consumers' choices and lowering prices are not among the incentives of the government employees who run state-owned liquor stores. Despite the power of monopoly retailers to extract volume discounts from wholesalers, researchers found no difference in prices between state and private liquor stores. Consumers were also slighted by the state stores' shorter operating hours, inconvenient locations, limited product availability, and restricted advertising. Some who wished to see lower rates of alcohol consumption had claimed that state ownership would achieve that, but it has not. Consumers instead adjusted their shopping habits, which meant they paid higher prices in the form of lost time and fewer alternatives.

In short, state-run stores don't work very well. So why do almost all the current plans to reform health care include a monopoly health-insurance store operated by the federal or state governments?

The government-run health-insurance markets in Massachusetts and the Netherlands are cautionary examples. Both suffer from a failure to control costs, high levels of consumer dissatisfaction, a lack of competition, and the inhibition of entrepreneurial innovation. Just as the state-run liquor stores have limited inventory, the Massachusetts and Dutch government-run health-insurance markets offer a limited variety of plans called "standardized benefit packages"—insurance-speak for "You can have it in any color as long as it's black." But while Henry Ford's Model T was stripped to its bare essentials, Massachusetts's government-designed insurance policies come loaded with features, requiring enrollees to purchase 43 benefits, some of which consumers may not want or need. Some of those mandatory benefits are very costly: In vitro fertilization alone raises the price of insurance by up to 5 percent. One can sympathize with the families who need this benefit, but it is not the kind of life-or-death medical care for which efficient insurance is designed. And is it fair to raise everybody's prices to subsidize those who do need it?

The government-run exchanges are supposed to enable competition, but in fact they inhibit it by regimenting prices and benefits. With few choices and little price competition, it is no surprise that in 2007, one year after the Netherlands switched to a government-run market, only 1 percent of consumers changed their insurance plans.

Would people buy these expensive packages of benefits if they were not forced to do so? In state-run systems, costs are obscured through subsidies, cost-shifting, and third-party-payer mechanisms. But what about in competitive markets for other products? A recent J. D. Power survey found that preferences for automobile options shift markedly once consumers are informed about costs. For example: Absent price information, navigation systems were consumers' No. 1 pick among car options—but when the $1,600 price was revealed, they slipped to No. 14 in the

Regina E. Herzlinger, a professor of business administration at Harvard Business School and a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, is the author of Who Killed Health Care?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rankings. Swiss consumers are required to buy their own health insurance from private companies, and they exhibit moderate price elasticity in their purchases—in other words, they look at the price tag when they're choosing the options. Researchers for the American Enterprise Institute discovered similar price elasticity in the United States and concluded that 12 million uninsured Americans would be able to find affordable coverage if they were permitted to shop in states that had fewer required benefits but better prices (current law forbids them). That cannot happen under a government-run market.

While piling on mandates, the Massachusetts government also prohibits some options that consumers want, such as high deductibles that reduce the cost of policies. Some 73,000 Massachusetts residents were excused from the state's requirement to purchase health insurance for the simple reason that they could not afford it. Many of them would have been better off with lower-priced, high-deductible policies than with no insurance at all, if only because they at least would have had protection against catastrophic medical expenses. And high-deductible plans have another benefit: They control costs. A recent RAND Corporation study found that persons in the middle and upper income brackets with high-deductible policies spent less on health care than those with low-deductible policies without negatively affecting their health.

Why do government-controlled markets require benefits that people may not want and prohibit those they do want? The reason is elementary politics: The politicians that run the markets respond to lobbyists, who are financed by providers and interest groups representing everybody from athletic trainers to acupuncturists and massage therapists. But nobody is paid to lobby for consumers.

There are additional dangers from a government-run market. The government's regulatory power enables the state-backed market to crowd out employer-sponsored insurance because subsidies (available in Massachusetts for families of four who earn less than $66,000) help it to undercut the price of privately offered insurance. At the same time, while businesses do face penalties for not providing health insurance, those penalties are low relative to the cost of providing such coverage. So the incentives all are stacked toward the government option. The percentage of Massachusetts employees enrolled in employer-sponsored health insurance slipped from 85 percent in 2003, before the government-run market was instituted, to 78 percent in 2007; the national average is 82 percent. Similarly, Massachusetts employers' contributions toward the cost of policies declined from 82 percent in 2001 to 75 percent in 2007; the national average is 85 percent. Future Massachusetts residents may have no choice but to buy health insurance from the state-run market.

Government monopolies tend to inhibit the emergence of new competitors, and can keep private-sector innovations that would make health care better and cheaper off the market entirely. Such innovations have achieved remarkable results. For example, one South African insurance company financially rewards its customers for joining gyms, undergoing screening for chronic diseases, and quitting smoking, and has achieved high rates of participation in those programs, up to 38 percent. Participating customers have achieved significant cost reductions, most notably in treatment for the chronic diseases that account for the bulk of health-care costs—e.g., a 7.2 percent reduction in expenses for cardiovascular disease, a 15.1 percent reduction for cancers, and a 21.4 percent reduction for endocrine and metabolic diseases.

Government-run plans also limit innovation through unilateral price-fixing. In the Netherlands, for example, the government controls the bulk of the prices paid to providers. When the government permitted hospitals and insurers to negotiate freely for a limited number of procedures, prices dropped and there were cost-saving innovations. In the case of total hip replacements, for instance, hospitals began to offer warranties on their services, while insurers began paying enrollees' deductibles if they used lower-priced hospitals.

Entrepreneurs generally avoid markets controlled by a government buyer because one change in public policy could wipe out their entire investment. Their resources will be spent lobbying in Washington, not innovating. Because they discourage innovation and new market entrants, government-controlled markets encourage consolidation. Anticipating government domination, a small number of Dutch insurers consolidated to control 80 percent of the market. In response, health-care providers consolidated, too, so they could bargain effectively with the insurance cartel.

Limited choice, little price differentiation, consolidated insurers, oligopolistic providers, lack of entrepreneurs—this is the deadly brew that causes higher prices and lower quality. The rate of increase in health-care costs was declining in the Netherlands before the national-market reform in 2006; costs rose 4.4 percent the year after it was initiated and 5.1 percent the second year. Individual health-insurance premiums rose 8–10 percent in 2006–07 and even more in 2008. Not surprisingly, the Dutch are now unhappy with their system.

Those who argue for a single, standardized system argue, in effect, that the American public is not capable of wending its way through a thicket of insurance options, and therefore needs a centralized market offering a limited choice of plans with standardized features. But in the rest of the U.S. economy, Americans have driven down prices and demanded higher quality across a range of complex purchases, such as personal computers and cars. Car prices have increased only 35 percent since 1984, while the Consumer Price Index has risen about 104 percent. Americans manage all sorts of complex transactions with lots of options, from banking to cell-phone plans.

Others justify the government market and the consolidation it would create with the observation that only large groups can achieve real administrative savings through economies of scale. But there is no evidence of economies of scale in insurance. And in any case, innovation and competition in the private marketplace are likely to overwhelm economies of scale in a government-run system. Thus, in Switzerland's market, which has neither employer- nor government-based groups, health-care costs have declined since 1994.

The government's proper role in health insurance is to help subsidize those who cannot afford it, to ensure transparency so that people can shop intelligently, and to prosecute fraud, abuse, and anti-competitive behavior. But the government should not create a state-run market that inevitably will limit competition, inflate costs, and prevent innovation. As in the rest of the economy, the American public should shop for itself. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wrong Big Picture, Dangerous Fine Print

But otherwise Obamacare is swell

BY JAMES C. CAPRETTA & TEVI TROY

THERE are only two problems with the emerging Democratic plan to reform health care in the United States: the big picture, and the fine print.

From a macro perspective, the bills now moving through House and Senate committees call for a combination of employer and individual mandates to force more, though not all, Americans to purchase federally set levels of insurance coverage. Some Americans—mainly those without full-time jobs—would be eligible for a new entitlement to discounted premiums. The federal government would try to tell doctors and hospitals what constitutes appropriate medical practice.

The bills would pay for their insurance subsidies with significant new taxes, mainly on work and entrepreneurship, as well as some benefit cuts in Medicare. The bills would also create a new government-run insurance plan that would be available to many working-age people and would likely constitute the first step toward a single-payer system.

That's the broad vision of Obamacare, which is bad enough because of what it will mean for the quality of American medical care over time. There are only two ways to allocate health-care resources: with a market or with government regulation. The Democratic vision firmly rejects consumer choice and a decentralized marketplace in favor of near-total federal-government control of health care. In time, that will mean cost control in the form of waiting lists, less innovation, and reduced quality.

But the fine print is likely to be just as alarming to Americans as this big picture is. The bills are chock-a-block with government intrusion into medical practice, limits on personal freedom, costly requirements that will stifle the private economy, massive and expensive government bureaucracy, taxes, fees, and fines.

It's apparent that Democratic leaders in Congress and the Obama administration would like to keep these details out of the public spotlight, which is why there is an odd disconnect between the timeline for the legislation's consideration in Congress and the timeline for its implementation.

President Obama has of late been spending much of his energy arguing that it is absolutely urgent that both chambers of Congress pass a bill this summer so that a final bill will get to his desk by October. Why? Why, because "the time is now." And the status quo is unacceptable. And we've never been this close before.

Never mind that in the bills as now written, nothing would actually happen for more than three years. Indeed, no uninsured American would get health insurance under the Democratic bills until 2013 at the earliest. In fact, the CBO has estimated that the number of uninsured Americans will increase in 2011 and 2012, before the bills' major provisions go into effect. And of course 2013 is safely after the next presidential election, just in case anyone's keeping track.

This is about political momentum. The administration and Democratic leaders in Congress understand that the more people learn about what these bills would actually do to American health care, the less the public will like them. Consider just this small sampling of the bills' details:

Severe limits on the purchase of private insurance. The House Democratic bill would make it illegal for Americans to buy health insurance from a company outside of the new structure. It's the government-approved system or nothing.

Government-controlled market access. In the bill approved by Democrats on the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP) Committee, states would have the authority to limit the number of insurance offerings provided to consumers in "exchanges," which are the government-run agencies that oversee consumer enrollment in insurance plans. Qualified insurers seeking to offer coverage to "exchange" participants may or may not get to do so. It would be up to government bureaucrats, who could deny market entry to an insurer for apparently any reason. It's entirely predictable that this broad authority will be abused to benefit politically connected providers—at the expense of consumers.

The "commissioner." House Democrats would hand over vast powers to a new "Health Choices Commissioner," the head of the new bureaucracy charged with regulating basically all health insurance offered in America. The commissioner would become the choke point for all major health-care-policy decisions, such as what constitutes qualified insurance or employer compliance with the federal mandate to offer coverage. States would even be required to enter into agreements with the commissioner regarding the operation of their Medicaid programs. Vast power and little accountability: It's a recipe for unresponsive bureaucracy, arbitrary rulemaking, meddling, and even more paperwork.

Penalizing work. In both the House and the Senate HELP bills, full-time work is heavily penalized. For the most part, the unemployed and part-timers are entitled to subsidized insurance. But full-time workers get no such subsidy. Their employers must offer them coverage or face severe penalties, and the workers have no choice but to take it, because otherwise they would face severe penalties themselves. This burden will be especially hard on low- to middle-income Americans who don't sign up for job-based insurance today because they can't afford it.

Funding abortion and abortion providers. Both the Senate HELP and House Democratic bills fail to exclude abortion from the services that constitute "qualified" insurance—which means, as a practical matter, abortion would be a required "covered benefit." Thus, federal taxpayers would be forced to pay for abortions, and everyone would be forbidden to get insurance that does not cover abortion, even if he is spending only his own money.

Raising premiums with taxes on health benefits. The House bill creates something called a Health Care Comparative Effectiveness Research Trust Fund (CERTF), which would be funded by fees on insurance providers. But insurers won't pay these fees themselves; they will be passed on to consumers in the form of

Mr. Capretta, a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center and a health-policy consultant, was an associate director at the White House Office of Management and Budget from 2001 to 2004. Mr. Troy, a visiting senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and a health-policy consultant, was deputy secretary of health and human services from 2007 to 2009.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Happened the First Time the West Invaded the Middle East?

Discover the Captivating Era of the Crusades in 36 Richly Detailed Lectures in Audio or DVD formats

The Crusades have been hailed as the driving force that brought Western Europe out of the Middle Ages—and condemned as the beginning of European imperialism in the Muslim Near East.

What were the forces that led to one of history's most protracted and legendary periods of conflict? How did they affect—and how were they perceived by those living in—the three civilizations that participated in them? And, ultimately, why did they end and what did they accomplish?

In **The Era of the Crusades**, Tulane's eight-time teaching award winner, Professor Kenneth W. Harl, looks at the leaders, purposes, key battles, and degrees of success or failure surrounding these often-monumental expeditions.

This 36-lecture series follows the specific military campaigns of the eight "canonical" Crusades that took place from 1095-1291, which were proclaimed to retake Jerusalem and the Holy Land from Muslim hands and return them to Christendom.

The Crusades brought three civilizations—Western Christendom (what we now call Western Europe); the Byzantine Empire, centered in Constantinople in present day Turkey; and the Islamic world—into much closer contact than had been the case in preceding centuries. Professor Harl's approach to the Crusades is to understand them as an era which ultimately transformed all three cultures.

These lectures also explore, in depth, a wide variety of issues that represent misperceptions and long-debated questions about the Crusades. The Crusades are one of the most romantic and colorful of all eras, the source of many of our notions of adventure and chivalry. In these lectures you will explore the true stories that have given rise to Crusader legends; learn the intricacies of both royal lineages and major battles; appreciate the opulence of the "Queen of Cities," the Byzantine capital of Constantinople; and examine legendary figures including Louis VII of France, Saladin, Richard the Lionhearted, and Eleanor of Aquitaine.

About Your Professor

Professor Harl has won eight teaching awards at Tulane, including the coveted Sheldon H. Hackney Award. In addition, he was the Fall 2001 recipient of the prestigious nationwide Robert Foster Cherry Award for Great Teachers from Baylor University.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses®.

We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 3,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1. The Heirs of Rome
2. Byzantine Orthodox Civilization
3. Byzantine Zenith in the Macedonian Age
4. The Failure of the Heirs of Basil II
5. Abbasid Baghdad and Fatimid Egypt
6. The Coming of the Seljuk Turks
7. The Recovery of Western Europe
8. Kings and Princes of Western Europe
9. Warfare in Western Europe
10. The Papacy and Religious Reform
11. Piety and Pilgrimage
12. Christian Offensives in Spain and Sicily
13. Alexius I and the First Crusade
14. From Clermont to Jerusalem
15. Conquest and Defense of Outremer
16. Frankish Settlement of Outremer
17. Comnenian Emperors and Crusader Princes
18. The Second Crusade
19. The Empire at Bay
20. The Rise of Saladin
21. Byzantine Recovery under the Comnenians
22. A Renaissance of Byzantine Letters and Arts
23. Trade and Currency in the Mediterranean
24. Cultural Exchange in Gothic Europe
25. The Horns of Hattin
26. The Third Crusade
27. From Jerusalem to Constantinople
28. The Sack of Constantinople
29. The World of Frankish Greece
30. Splinter Empires and Orthodox Princes
31. Ayyubid Egypt and Seljuk Anatolia
32. Crusader Cyprus and the Levant
33. Venice and Genoa
34. The Mongols and the Legend of Prester John
35. The Royal Crusaders
36. The Passing of the Crusades

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.®

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2 pm eastern time ship that same day. Order before October 9, 2009 to receive these savings.

SAVE UP TO $275!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL OCTOBER 9, 2009

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/5natr

The Great Courses
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 33151

Please send me **The Era of the Crusades**, which consists of thirty-six 30-minte lectures plus Course Guidebooks.

☐ **DVD $99.95** (std. price $374.95) **SAVE $275!**
plus $15 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.

☐ **Audio CD $69.95** (std. price $269.95) **SAVE $200!**
plus $10 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.

☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. For more details, call us or visit the FAQ page on our website.

** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover Novus ☐ Card

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/5natr
Offer Good Through: October 9, 2009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

higher premiums. President Obama pilloried Senator McCain for proposing "for the first time in history . . . taxing people's health-care benefits," yet that is essentially what House Democrats are looking to do in their bill.

Deep Medicare cuts for beneficiaries living in low-cost areas. House Democrats are determined to force seniors out of the private-insurance program of Medicare, called Medicare Advantage (MA). According to the Congressional Budget Office, their bill is likely to work as planned: Some 5 million MA enrollees would get pushed back into the traditional government-run program, with its lower benefits and higher cost-sharing. This would happen because the House bill bases MA payment rates on the estimated regional cost of covering someone in the traditional program; those living in lower-cost areas would see their payment rates drop, making the traditional program look more attractive.

This approach worsens the unfair regional disparities that exist today. For instance, this year, the MA payment rate in Portland is only $819 per month, while Miami's is $1,238 per month. The House bill would widen this gap by cutting Portland's MA payments by 26 percent, since Portland is a low-cost region with a culture of judicious use of health services. Meanwhile, Miami, which is rife with Medicare fraud and abuse, would get only a 2 percent cut in its MA payment rate. Medicare beneficiaries in Salt Lake City, Sacramento, Albuquerque, and other low-cost cities would get hit almost as hard as Portland's beneficiaries. This runs precisely counter to the notion, popularized by Atul Gawande in *The New Yorker* and heartily embraced by the Obama administration, that we should try to replicate, or at least reward, areas that provide more efficient health care.

Undermining entitlement reform. Section 1901 of the House bill would repeal a trigger intended to alert Congress and the broader public to the financing problems in the Medicare program. Under current law, the HHS secretary must propose Medicare program adjustments to eliminate projected funding shortfalls when the Medicare trustees forecast excessive program reliance on subsidies from the Treasury. Repealing this provision is one more indication that Democrats are not serious about addressing the explosion of entitlement spending, which will push U.S. fiscal policy off a cliff in relatively short order.

More government-run health care. So much attention has been focused on President Obama's push for a new government-run insurance plan that many people do not realize that the Democrats are also seeking the largest expansion of Medicaid in the program's history. Medicaid spending is already on track, along with Medicare, to push federal finances to the brink. Between 2009 and 2035, the CBO expects combined spending for these two programs to increase from 5.3 to 10 percent of GDP. But that's apparently not enough: The House bill would add 11 million more enrollees to Medicaid, bringing total enrollment to about 71 million and adding more than $80 billion in new spending to the budget in 2019—on top of the $426 billion that the program will already cost under current law.

The Democrats press on, even as every day brings new revelations of the incoherence, hubris, and excesses of their plan.

These bills are a massive overreach by the Democrats, who see this year as a once-in-a-generation opportunity to have something like a New Deal or Great Society moment. Most Democrats believe strongly in total governmental control of health care, and they are determined to try to achieve it now, regardless of the fiscal and political consequences. So they press on, even as every day brings new revelations of the incoherence, hubris, and excesses of their plan.

It might work; the legislation might pass. Then again, it might not, as a restless public is becoming increasingly alarmed at what is emerging from Washington. A government takeover of health care seems not to be what the public wants—meaning that the Democrats may find themselves advocating bad policy that is unpopular to boot. **NR**

Romney's Folly

Health-care mandates are a middle-class tax

BY MICHAEL F. CANNON

AMID negotiations with leading Democrats over health-care reform, Iowa senator Chuck Grassley, ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, commented, "The federal government is in the process of nationalizing banks, nationalizing General Motors—I'm going to make sure we don't nationalize health insurance, and the 'public option' is the first step to doing that."

Grassley is correct, and conservatives are right to oppose Pres. Barack Obama's proposal to create a "Fannie Med." But when it comes to nationalizing health insurance, there is more than one way to skin the consumer. Indeed, there is talk on Capitol Hill that Grassley and other Senate Republicans may be close to a deal that would nationalize health care smack dab in the middle of the private sector. For an example of how that can be done, look to Massachusetts.

In 2006, Gov. Mitt Romney teamed up with Beacon Hill Democrats and the Heritage Foundation to enact the most sweeping health-care reform in the nation. Governor Romney made Massachusetts the first state to require that its residents purchase health insurance under penalty of law (the "individual mandate") and the second state (after Hawaii) to require that employers make a minimum level of health insurance part of employee compensation (the "employer mandate"). Romney created new government subsidies and expanded Medicaid to help residents comply with those mandates. He also created a health-insurance "exchange"—a government-managed marketplace—called the Commonwealth Connector.

Although Romneycare included no

Mr. Cannon is director of health-policy studies at the Cato Institute and co-author of Healthy Competition: What's Holding Back Health Care and How to Free It.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

Think identity theft can't happen to you?

Then don't bother reading on…

Fact: Identity theft has topped the Federal Trade Commission's list of consumer complaints for the past eight years.

Now, a stunning new survey shows a record 9.9 million Americans were victims of identity theft last year – a shocking 22% increase over the prior year (according to Javelin Strategy & Research).

Peace of mind

These studies send a clear message: in the wake of the global economic crisis, identity theft is a big business. It's up to consumers to take proactive steps to protect themselves. From shredding your personal documents to being careful of the online sites you visit, there are hundreds of precautionary measures you can take to help protect you, your family and your most valuable information. You and your family can also enjoy the peace of mind that comes with joining the industry leader in identity protection, LifeLock.

Proactive identity protection

At LifeLock, we're proactive. For $9 a month, we scour more than 10,000 chat rooms and Web sites searching for your information being bought and sold by identity thieves. We notify you when a change of address is requested on your behalf. With LifeLock, every time you apply for new credit or someone tries to do something to your credit, creditors are required to verify your identity. What's more, you now get the added security of WalletLock™ to help replace the contents of your lost or stolen wallet, and TrueAddress™ to notify you when a change of address is requested on your behalf. And if you become a victim of identity theft because of a failure in our service, we'll help fix it – at our expense – up to $1 million. Restrictions apply. See LIFELOCK.com for details.

Keep your confidence

So why else should you protect your identity? Consider some of the Javelin survey's specific findings: According to the survey, more than one in every ten victims knew the person who stole their identity. It also appears identity thieves are moving dramatically faster than they used to when it comes to actually using stolen information, and women are 26% more likely to be victims than men. It's important to point out that no one can stop all identity theft, so if you do become a victim of identity theft because of a failure in our service, we'll help fix it – at our own expense, up to $1 million. Restrictions apply. See LIFELOCK.com for details.

Kim Barnes

"When I first learned about a company called LifeLock that protects families from identity theft, my husband was skeptical. A couple of months later, on a family vacation, my husband received a phone call asking if he was applying for a new credit card. Someone was trying to steal his identity. LifeLock had stopped the thief cold."

Your next step

Remember, LifeLock is for those who have a good faith suspicion that they have been, or are about to become a victim of identity theft. If you do fall into this group, it's nice to know that signing up is easy – takes less than 10 minutes.

At the end of the day, you don't just receive identity protection with LifeLock, you receive something that's just as important – the confidence that comes with peace of mind. Simply call 1-800-LIFELOCK (543-3562) or visit LIFELOCK.com to receive LifeLock peace of mind for $9 a month.

30 DAYS FREE* + 10% OFF

PROMO CODE **NATIONALREVIEW**

WWW.LIFELOCK.COM

1-800-LIFELOCK (543-3562)

*At the end of the 30 day free period your credit card will be billed automatically ($9 monthly/$99 annually) unless you cancel within the 30 day period. You can cancel anytime without penalty by calling 1-800-LifeLock. Enrollment in LifeLock requires a valid Social Security number. Offer applies to new LifeLock members only.

To get the peace of mind that comes with LifeLock, call 1-800-LIFELOCK (543-3562) or visit LIFELOCK.com now and receive LifeLock's industry-leading identity protection for $9 a month.

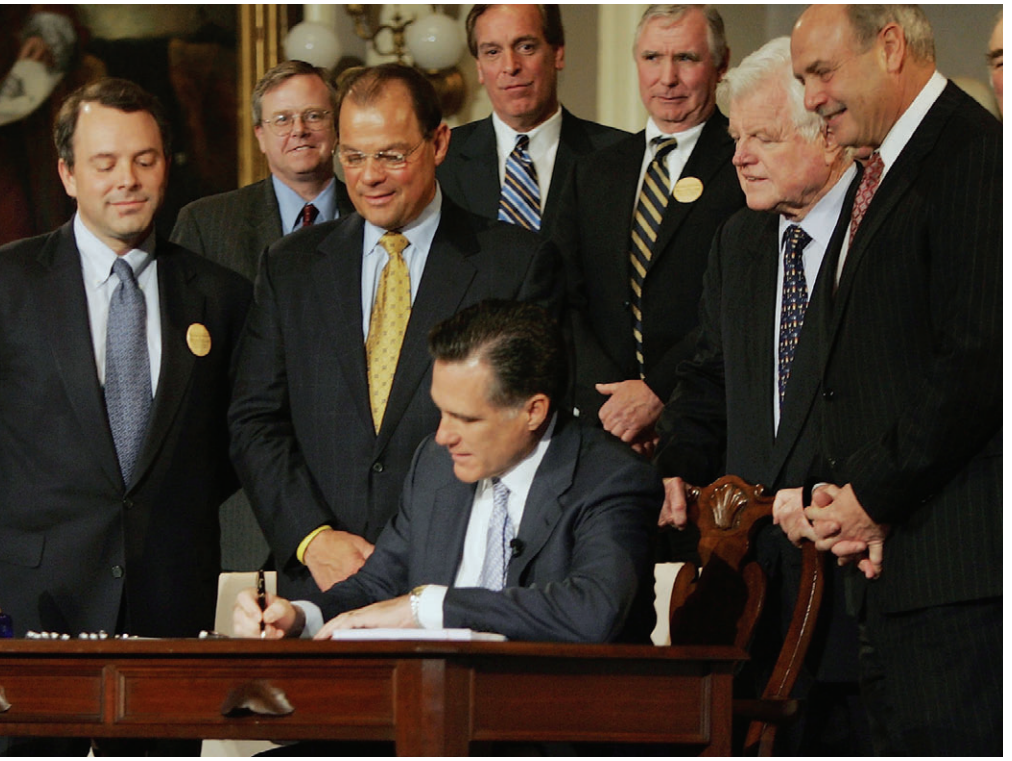
LifeLock®
#1 In Identity Theft Protection™

1-800-LIFELOCK (543-3562) LIFELOCK.COM

Source: Javelin Strategy & Research. "2009 Identity Fraud Survey Report." February 2009.

Advertisement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



JOE RAEDLE/GETTY

Signing Romneycare, April 12, 2006

insurance program explicitly run by the government, it gave Beacon Hill politicians so much power over the health care of Massachusetts residents that it might as well have. The individual and employer mandates, operating entirely within the private sector, imposed what amount to new tax burdens, gave government the power to regulate all aspects of health insurance and medical practice, and subjected residents' access to medical care to political calculation. Moreover, the fruits of Romneycare have been exactly what you'd expect from a government program. Before reform, Massachusetts's health-care sector was rigid and expensive, with some of the longest waiting times in the nation. Since reform, it has grown even more rigid and expensive—though the politicians have managed to hide more than half of its $2 trillion cost. Waits are longer as well, though they hardly merit a mention compared with the more odious forms of rationing imposed elsewhere in the world.

All of this makes Massachusetts a case study in the reforms that President Obama and congressional Democrats are trying to ram through Congress. Both the House and Senate health-care plans include individual and employer mandates, new government subsidies, a broader Medicaid program, and a new government-managed health-insurance exchange—as would the potential deal under consideration by Grassley and Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus (D., Mont.). As goes Massachusetts, so would go the nation.

Like any government health-care program, Romneycare has spurred its share of garden-variety "send a check to Uncle Sam" tax increases. Yet those taxes don't account for even half of Romneycare's costs. Individual and employer mandates are the taxes that politicians prefer when they don't want you to realize they're taxing you. As President Obama's National Economic Council chairman, Larry Summers, wrote in 1989, employer mandates "are like public programs financed by benefit taxes. . . . There is no sense in which benefits become 'free' just because the government mandates that employers offer them to workers." The same is true of an individual mandate: To the extent that government forces people to purchase something they do not value, it is a tax, even if the money never enters the treasury.

That means that Romneycare achieves near-universal coverage mostly by taxing middle-class earners. Massachusetts forces employers to offer workers a minimum level of health benefits or pay an annual $295-per-worker penalty, while individuals who do not obtain coverage face annual penalties as high as $1,068. Since employers pay for employment taxes and employee benefits by reducing wages, Massachusetts residents can face a tax of nearly $1,400. Depending on their income, married couples pay up to twice that.

Obama is hardly oblivious to the coercive nature of mandates. Take him at his own word: During the presidential campaign, he attacked Hillary Clinton's proposal for an individual mandate by likening it to Romney's Massachusetts model. Under an individual mandate, Obama explained, "you can have a situation, which we are seeing right now in the state of Massachusetts, where people are being fined for not having purchased health care but choose to accept the fine because they still can't afford it, even with the subsidies. And they are then worse off. They then have no health care and are paying a fine above and beyond that."

Since individual and employer mandates are simply disguised taxes, imposing them would violate Obama's pledge not to tax the middle class. During the presidential campaign, he vowed, "I can make a firm pledge: Under my plan, no family making less than $250,000 a year will see any form of tax increase." Yet House Democrats would force noncompliant employers to pay a tax equal to 8 percent of payroll, while uninsured individuals would pay a tax equal to 2.5 percent of income.

An uninsured worker earning $50,000 per year with no offer of coverage from his employer would therefore face a 15.3 percent federal payroll tax, plus a 25 percent federal marginal income-tax rate, plus an 8 percent reduction in his wages, plus a 2.5 percent uninsured tax. In total, his effective marginal federal tax rate would reach 50.8 percent.

In late June, Obama declared, "If any bill arrives from Congress that is not controlling costs, that's not a bill I can support. It's going to have to control costs." Last week, Congressional Budget Office director Douglas Elmendorf explained that simply forcing people to purchase health insurance would bend the "cost curve"—in the wrong direction. No one who has been paying attention to Massachusetts was surprised.

Prior to reform, Massachusetts already was known for extravagant health-care spending. In 2004, per capita spending

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond®

HOME LIGHTING *Breakthrough*

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp brings many of the benefits of natural daylight indoors for glare-free lighting that's perfect for a variety of indoor activities.

You don't need the sun to get the natural benefits of daylight

- ***See with clarity and enjoyment***
- ***Creates natural, glare-free light***
- ***Provides sharp visibility***
- ***Flexible gooseneck design***
- ***Instant-on, flicker-free light***
- ***Pays for itself in energy savings over the life of the bulb***

Ever since the first humans built a fire in their dark cave, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. But ever since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has, unfortunately, remained relatively prehistoric.

Modern light fixtures do little to overcome problems associated with improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness, and burning. As more and more of us spend longer and longer hours in front of our computer monitor, these problems are compounded. And the effects of improper indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to a physical problem: the quantity and quality of light can also play a part in both our mood and work performance.

Studies show that sunshine can both lift your mood and enhance your energy levels. But as we all know, the sun does not always shine. Now, however, there's a solution to the problem– The **Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp** will change not only the way you see, but also the way you feel about your living and work spaces. It brings the benefits of natural daylight indoors, simulating the full spectrum of daylight.

The **Balanced Spectrum's** 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent of a 100-watt ordinary light bulb. With the lamp's sharp visibility, you will see with more clarity and enjoyment in close tasks such as reading, writing, sewing, and needlepoint. It is especially helpful for aging eyes.

Experience sunshine indoors at the touch of a switch. This amazing lamp is not only easy on the eyes, it is easy on the hands as well, featuring a special "soft-touch, flicker-free" rocker switch that is easier to use than traditional toggle or twist switches. And its flexible gooseneck design enables you to get light exactly where you need it. The high-tech electronics, the user-friendly design, and a bulb that lasts 10 times longer than an ordinary bulb–all these features make the **Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp** a must-have.

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp for the best value ever! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your home at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this lamp for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

This light can change the way you live and work

It provides excellent lighting which is very close to true daylight. The lamp itself is light enough to be moved easily around a room and an office. The glare-free characteristics provide a very non-stressful illumination for prolonged reading.
–Stanley G., M.D.

As soon as I turned on the lamp and began to read the newspaper I could see the wonderful difference. This lamp is just what I needed. Thank you so much.
–Donna E.

Your lamp has been a wonderful help to me in reading my newspaper and magazines. I would hate to be without this lamp, it's made such a difference in my life.
–Kenneth K.

Dozens of testimonials on file.
Results not typical.

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- ***Save almost $61 over the life of the bulb***
- ***8,000 hours bulb life***
- ***Energy efficient***
- ***Shows true colors***

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp
Item# BB-3589 . . . . . was ~~$59.95~~

Call now for $10 instant savings!

Only $49.95 each + S&H

*Order two Balanced Spectrum® floor lamps and get **FREE shipping** on both lamps.

*Free shipping within the contiguous 48 states only.

Please mention promotional code 38709.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day.

1-866-547-2688

We accept all major credit cards, or if you choose, you can pay by check over the phone. To order by mail, please call for details.

www.balancedspectrum.com

firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2007 TechnoBrands®, Inc.

41477

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was a quarter to a third higher than the national average and was growing faster to boot. According to a study funded by the BlueCross BlueShield Foundation of Massachusetts, Romneycare caused spending growth to accelerate further. The study indicates that without reform, spending would have grown by just 6.4 percent in 2007. Instead, it grew by 10.7 percent—two-thirds faster.

A report by the Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation titled "Massachusetts Health Reform: The Myth of Uncontrolled Costs" tried to put a happy face on the reform's expense. It explained that in 2009 Romneycare is covering 432,000 previously uninsured residents while increasing state outlays by just $409 million—which seems like a bargain. Of course, the full cost of Romneycare includes not only increased state spending but increased federal spending (in the form of matching Medicaid funds) and mandated private spending by individuals and employers. In total, the foundation conservatively estimates that the full cost will exceed $2.1 billion this year. That is, Romneycare is covering the uninsured at a cost of about $6,700 each. For comparison, in 2007 the average cost nationally of an individual policy was just $2,600. That's a bad deal, even by government standards.

Note also that only about 40 percent of the cost of Romneycare actually appears in any government budget. The lion's share is borne by the private sector. Massachusetts politicians are nonetheless struggling to scrape together the direct government funding. Of necessity, they have begun rationing access to care.

For all that additional spending, many Massachusetts residents are finding it harder to see a doctor. One survey of wait times to see a specialist, such as a cardiologist or orthopedic surgeon, reads like a dispatch from Canada. In 2004, specialist wait times in Boston were already among the highest in the nation. Over the next five years, wait times fell in most U.S. cities and averaged 21 days, but in Boston they rose to an average of 50 days, even though Massachusetts has more doctors per resident than any other state. Those wait times may be exacerbated by state officials' decision to impose price controls.

The individual and employer mandates give Massachusetts the ability to ration care in a deliberate and systematic fashion. When government mandates that individuals purchase health insurance, it must define "health insurance" so that people can know whether they are complying with the mandate. That not only gives government the power to dictate what types of coverage health plans must offer but also enables it to regulate the relationships between insurers and health-care providers. In July, a legislative commission recommended that Massachusetts use that power to impose price controls as a means of rationing care in the private health-care sector.

At first, the proposed price-control regime would dictate the unit of payment that insurers and providers must use. Instead of paying providers a fee for each particular medical service—$50 for a flu shot, $300 for patching up a broken finger, whatever—Massachusetts would dictate that all insurers pay providers a "global payment" that covers all of the patient's medical needs for an entire year. There's nothing dangerous about this method of paying providers as long as insurers using other payment methods are free to compete. But if government mandates that "global payment" is the only legal method, you get Canada. In effect, "global payment" becomes the government's way of delegating medical-rationing decisions to doctors and hospitals, which must accept a flat fee per customer and then decide what they will and will not do for the money they receive.

Over time, the state would no doubt seek to control not only the method of payment but the prices themselves.

When the Massachusetts legislature needed to trim $130 million from the cost of Romneycare, it canceled coverage for 30,000 legal immigrants—suggesting that politicians charged with rationing care will do so at the expense of those who are least politically powerful.

In 1989, Summers wrote, "Conservatives tend to prefer mandated benefits to public provision, as evidenced, for example . . . in proposals in the 1970s to mandate employer health insurance as the 'conservative' alternative to national health insurance." The experience in Massachusetts should teach conservatives that individual and employer mandates are socialized medicine with a private façade. We'll know by watching Senator Grassley whether that lesson has been learned. **NR**

Not Your Father's Latin America

Its troubles continue, but the region has made real progress

BY DUNCAN CURRIE

HUGO CHÁVEZ likes to boast that history is on his side. During a recent broadcast of his talk show, *Aló Presidente*, the Venezuelan leader informed Barack Obama that "the process of change in Latin America is not going to stop," even if the U.S. deploys naval fleets and fighter planes. It's easy to dismiss such rhetoric as typical Chávez bluster. But is there a nugget of truth in it? Is Venezuela's illiberal "Bolivarian revolution" really sweeping Latin America?

The short answer is no. The longer answer is that, while various small countries have embraced Chávez-style populism, most of the region's large economic powers have not. In general, Latin American officials have greatly improved their fiscal and monetary policies, making their economies less sensitive to external shocks. Though Latin America has not escaped the global recession and is still plagued by many of its perennial troubles—such as widespread corruption, high levels of violent crime, ethnic fissures, and yawning inequality—its recent progress offers grounds for optimism.

We must appreciate just how far Latin America has come. From the late 1970s through the early 2000s, the region went through a seemingly endless series of economic and financial implosions. Meanwhile, frequent military coups and prolonged civil wars stifled its movement toward liberal democracy.

Even after free elections and constitutional government became the norm, inflation remained a scourge, and currency meltdowns continued to wreak havoc. The 2001–02 Argentine financial crisis sparked a full-blown economic collapse and a massive debt default, which fueled severe turmoil in neighboring countries. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mid-2002, the Bush administration endorsed a $30 billion International Monetary Fund bailout for Brazil (which was suffering from its own domestic woes) and dispatched a $1.5 billion Treasury loan to Uruguay. The U.S. took a sterner line on Argentina but eventually supported a new IMF loan package after Argentine economy minister Roberto Lavagna implemented some prudent reforms that mitigated the crisis.

As the global economy recovered, so did Latin America's. Between 2002 and 2008, the region enjoyed its most robust expansion in decades. Unlike the growth spurt during the 1990s, this one led to substantial poverty reduction. According to World Bank estimates, the poverty rate in Latin America and the Caribbean—that is, the share of the population living on less than $4 a day (in purchasing-power-parity terms)—fell from 45.4 percent in 2002 to 32.5 percent in 2008. Over that same period, the rate of extreme poverty (the portion living on less than $2 a day) dropped from 21.5 percent to 13.1 percent.

Had Latin America just gotten lucky? After all, its anti-poverty gains occurred during an era of abundant liquidity, high commodity prices, and booming global trade. But that wasn't the whole story: Latin America also strengthened its fundamentals, taming inflation and accumulating foreign-exchange reserves while slashing its external debt. An April 2008 Inter-American Development Bank study pointed to lingering vulnerabilities but affirmed that economic management in the region had "noticeably improved." More recently, a May 2009 IMF survey said that many Latin American countries "have made strides in strengthening fiscal positions and public debt structures, solidifying financial systems and their regulation, anchoring inflation expectations, and building more credible policy frameworks."

Latin America's experience during the current global slump has underscored these achievements. The downturn has been painful (in some countries, deeply painful) but not cataclysmic. Previous recessions in Latin America triggered banking and currency disasters. Not this one. The region has demonstrated that it is much more resilient now than it was in the past. Alberto Ramos, senior Latin America economist at Goldman Sachs, says the difference is "night and day."

Perhaps the most pleasant surprise of recent Latin American history has been the performance of Brazilian president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, a former union boss whose 2002 election spooked the investment community. Lula's predecessor, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, was a more conservative social democrat who had helped devise and manage the anti-inflationary "Plano Real" during his tenures as Brazilian finance minister (1993–94) and president (1995–2003). As former Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan writes in *The Age of Turbulence*, the Plano Real "successfully brought the nation's roaring inflation to a halt after it had surged more than 5,000 percent during the twelve months between mid-1993 and mid-1994."

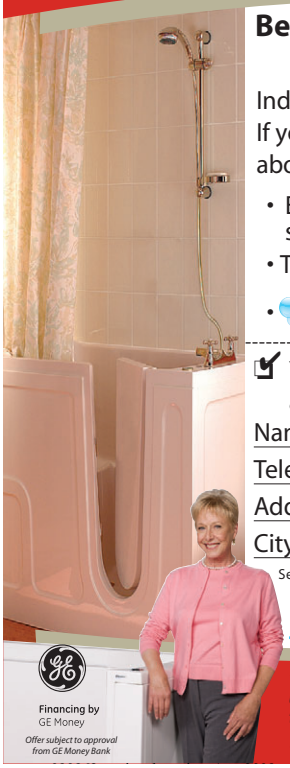
Lula, a member of the left-wing Workers' Party and a longtime friend of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro, had fiercely opposed the Plano Real. He had also spent years attacking free-market economics and calling for major social changes. How would he govern as president? "To the surprise of most, myself included," writes Greenspan, "he has largely followed the sensible policies embodied in the Plano Real." Indeed, there has been a great deal of continuity between the Cardoso and Lula administrations. Despite being dogged by assorted scandals, Lula has acquired enormous popularity and international stature.

He is part of a bigger trend: Throughout Latin America, there is a growing center-left political class that broadly agrees with conservatives about the basic tenets of good economic stewardship. "This is a very positive development for the region," says economist Luis Oganes, head of Latin America research at J. P. Morgan. In a 2007 *New Republic* article, foreign-affairs scholar Walter Russell Mead wrote that "Latin America is now beginning to acquire something it has sorely lacked: a left-of-center political leadership able to combine its mission of serving the poor with a firm commitment to currency stability, the rule of law, and the development of a favorable business climate."

This can be seen in countries such as Chile, Uruguay, and Peru. The Chilean economy remains the most dynamic in Latin America. Since 1990, it has been piloted by the center-left Concertación coalition, which inherited a slew of free-market reforms from the Pinochet dictatorship. Successive Concertación governments "kept the broad thrust of the dictatorship's economic policies, deepened some of them

Ease of use, **peace of mind.**

Premier Guarantee



Be able to bathe safely, without worry with a Premier Walk-In Bath.

Independence and security are only a phone call away. If you struggle taking your bath, talk to us at Premier about our extensive range of walk-in baths.

- Enjoy a relaxing bath again, without the fear of slipping or falling.
- The walk-in door feature allows easy access and exiting.
- Hydrotherapy jets soothe away your aches and pains.

☑ **Yes! Please send me a FREE COLOR BROCHURE about Premier Walk-In Baths.**

Name
Telephone
Address
City State Zip

Send to: Premier Bathrooms Inc. 2330 South Nova Rd., South Daytona, Florida 32119

Premier Care in Bathing

CODE 78089

"Transform your bathroom and transform your life." ~ Karen Grassle

CALL NOW • TOLL FREE
1-800-578-2899
SOURCE CODE 78089

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and reformed others," writes journalist Michael Reid in *Forgotten Continent*. "That bestowed democratic legitimacy on the 'Chilean model.'" During the recent commodity boom, Chile saved a hefty chunk of its copper windfall. As the *Wall Street Journal* reports, this enabled it to craft "one of the largest stimulus packages in the world relative to the size of its economy."

In Uruguay, the center-left administration of Pres. Tabaré Vázquez has promoted a solid economic agenda and completed a "trade and investment framework agreement" with the United States. In Peru, Pres. Alan García has effectively repudiated his earlier stint as chief executive in the late 1980s, when he espoused economic populism and unleashed hyperinflation. Since returning to the presidency in 2006, García has governed as a born-again neoliberal.

His 2006 election campaign reflected a larger ideological struggle. García defeated Ollanta Humala, a radical populist favored by Chávez, after telling voters to choose "between Hugo Chávez and Peru." That same year, conservative Felipe Calderón won a razor-thin victory over leftist Andrés Manuel López Obrador to capture the Mexican presidency. Just as García did in Peru, Calderón linked his opponent to Chávez. It proved a smart strategy, as Calderón came from behind to triumph.

All of these countries—Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Peru, and Mexico—have rejected *Chavismo*. All five have inflation-targeting central banks. So does Colombia, which has made greater progress over the past half-decade than any other country in the hemisphere. Pres. Álvaro Uribe took office in 2002 amid a horrendous guerrilla war that threatened to turn Colombia into a failed state. Since then, the government has reclaimed Bogotá, Medellín, and other cities from left-wing rebels; demobilized thousands of right-wing paramilitaries; dramatically reduced violence; and fostered a more attractive business environment. Prior to the recession, Colombia's GDP was growing at its fastest rate since the 1970s. National police data show that in 2008, the country had 44 percent fewer homicides and 75 percent fewer massacres than it did in 2002.

Yet the number of massacres increased slightly from 2007 to 2008, and new scandals have emerged concerning extrajudicial killings by the army. Uribe helped expose paramilitary infiltration of the political system, but the subsequent discoveries have implicated many of his supporters. As for the drug war, an October 2008 Government Accountability Office report said that Plan Colombia, the vast U.S. aid package begun under President Clinton, had "not fully achieved" its drug-reduction goals but had nonetheless contributed to "major security advances." Uribe is still immensely popular, though he has raised eyebrows by musing about a third term in office. (His current term expires in 2010.) Colombian lawmakers already amended their constitution to let him run for a second term in 2006.

It would be the height of moral confusion to associate Uribe, a staunch democrat, with Latin America's populist rabble. But revising constitutions to extend or abolish term limits is the preferred strategy of Chávez and his ilk. That's what ousted Honduran president Manuel Zelaya was trying to do, via an illegal "referendum," before the supreme court and the military intervened.

His removal trimmed the ranks of Chávez allies. In 2008, Honduras had joined the "Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas," a Chávez-led trade group whose members now include Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Ecuador, and a few tiny Caribbean nations. Heavily dependent on tourism, the impoverished Caribbean islands are especially susceptible to Chávez's petro-diplomacy. The governments of Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Ecuador feel an ideological attachment to Venezuela. All of them have, to varying degrees, embraced illiberal populism. So has Argentina, where Pres. Cristina Kirchner nationalized the private-pension system late last year.

Though Venezuela, Argentina, and Ecuador posted impressive growth rates when commodity prices were booming, they are now dealing with the consequences of reckless policy decisions. The Kirchner government suffered a crushing setback in Argentina's June 28 congressional elections. "There was definitely a shift to the right in Argentina," says Oganes. In Venezuela, unfortunately, Chávez won a referendum on scrapping term limits this past February, and he has intensified his attacks on independent media outlets and opposition politicians. Chávez is also lending full-throated support to Zelaya as the deposed Honduran leader seeks to reclaim his former office.

Beyond the unrest in Honduras, Central America faces a raft of economic and security challenges. Costa Rica and Panama remain its most stable and prosperous countries. The latter is now led by a conservative supermarket baron named Ricardo Martinelli. El Salvador also has a new president, Mauricio Funes, who represents the FMLN, a former leftist guerrilla outfit turned political party. Funes cites Lula as his model and "has filled the cabinet mostly with moderates," says Michael Shifter, a vice president at the Inter-American Dialogue. But it is unclear whether Funes can genuinely transform the FMLN and curb soaring crime. In neighboring Guatemala, Pres. Álvaro Colom has been hobbled by a sensational murder scandal at a time when his country is being overwhelmed by drug violence.

Meanwhile, such violence continues to generate grisly headlines in Mexico. It has exacerbated a nasty recession (the worst in Latin America), as has the swine-flu panic. President Calderón deserves credit for tackling the narco-gangs with military force. Though his anti-crime campaign is still widely popular, his party got thrashed in Mexico's July 5 congressional elections. That makes it even less likely that Calderón will be able to undertake the tax, energy, and labor-market reforms necessary to boost his country's long-term economic performance.

"To change Mexico, you really need an extraordinary leader," says economist Rafael Amiel, regional managing director for Latin America at IHS Global Insight. "I'm more hopeful about Brazil than Mexico." Like other Latin American countries, both Brazil and Mexico require deep structural changes in order to realize their full growth potential. "The Latin American experience has laid bare the fact that private ownership and fiscal prudence yield only limited benefits in a regime of overbearing taxation and regulation," writes Harvard economist Andrei Shleifer.

While the ongoing recession has aggravated social tensions and reversed some of the region's anti-poverty gains, Latin America's recent record is one of significant progress. "Many countries are on the right track," says Amiel. But a smaller cluster—the Chávez bloc—is clearly on the wrong track. As Shifter puts it, "We have different Latin Americas, and they're moving in very different directions." **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

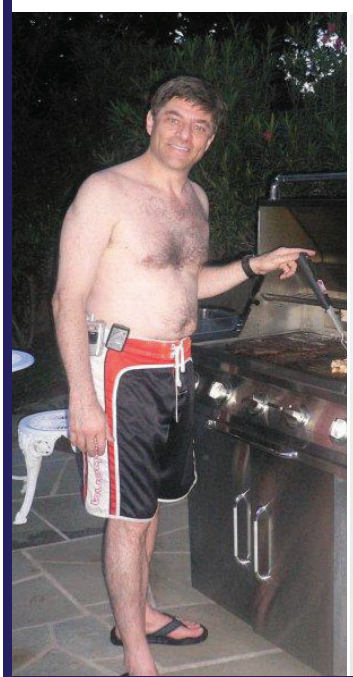
How Does This 54-Year-Old Neurosurgeon Look So Good Under His Scrubs?

CENEGENICS®
medical institute

GQ suggests it's the path to **reversing the signs and symptoms of aging**. It's also gotten the attention of *Today, 60 Minutes, Nightline* and *The Associated Press*.

Find out more about the Cenegenics® program, a unique and balanced combination of nutrition, exercise and hormone optimization, when clinically indicated.

Jacob Rosenstein, MD, age 54



DR. ROSENSTEIN

Before Cenegenics, Age 51	*After Cenegenics,* Age 54
166 lbs, 20.3% Body Fat	161 lbs, 11.9% Body Fat

Benefits May Include:

- Decreased Risk of Age-Related Disease
- Improved Muscle Tone
- Decreased Body Fat
- Increased Energy
- Increased Sex Drive
- Sharper Thinking

Call today to speak one-on-one with a Cenegenics medical doctor. Strictly confidential, no obligation. Register online to receive the *GQ* article and *The Complete Guide to Healthy Aging.*

CALL 866.350.8799

REGISTER www.cenegenics-nr.com

NO INSURANCE AND NO MEDICARE ACCEPTED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Carrie Effect

Notes from the frontlines of the Marriage War

BY MAGGIE GALLAGHER

THE headline on the story about a new CBS News/*New York Times* survey was interesting: "Poll: Support for Gay Marriage Dips." How fast and how far had support for gay marriage had to drop before a mainstream-media headline acknowledged it, even as a "dip"?

Here's the answer: 9 percentage points.

That's right: In just a few short months, support for gay marriage in this poll plunged 9 percentage points, from its all-time high of 42 percent to 33 percent.

A reporter for *New York* magazine recently called me to ask about the cause of a similar abrupt drop in support for gay marriage in a poll of voters in New York State. "Did the National Organization for Marriage"—of which I am president—"cause that decline?" he asked. I suspect he wanted me to claim credit, to give him a more dramatic narrative. After all, if you run a large activist organization directly involved in politics, your professional obligation is to be a blowhard. (And indeed, the 2 million robocalls and the ad campaign NOM had launched must have helped.) But I turned in my professional-blowhard card by saying, "No, I really think that it was Carrie Prejean."

The Carrie Effect? How can one beauty queen cause a swing of almost ten points in national polls on a hotly debated issue?

Culture consists of ideas. Ideas, like civilizations, can die out. They die when no one is willing to defend them out loud. Gay-marriage advocates are like the Borg: Resistance is futile, they repeatedly say. This is an ambitious and psychologically sophisticated strategy: If they say it often enough, maybe Americans will believe it. If Americans start to believe it, then it will be true. Despair is gay-marriage advocates' most powerful weapon, especially when it is fed by social conservatives' failure to create solid strategies of hope.

In the marketplace of ideas, not all Americans are equal.

Maggie Gallagher is president of the National Organization for Marriage.

BRIAN ZAK/SIPA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Culture is created by elites. And gay-marriage advocates have decided that victory requires winning over not only liberal and Democratic elites, as powerful as they are, but conservative and Republican elites as well.

When does a war end? When one side's will to fight is broken. This is true in culture wars, too. A culture shift is complete only when an idea becomes uncontested (and uncontestable) by good, decent, law-abiding, "normal" citizens.

Gay-marriage advocates tried very hard to engineer such a moment in the past few months. I've had a front-row seat, fighting marriage battles deep in blue states—battles I didn't ask for and don't want, battles that gay-marriage advocates decided to fight right now in the middle of a looming recession, with budget craters opening up and service cuts or tax increases looming. Does this make sense? *Why now?*

Understanding the answer to that question is crucial, for the future of the country and of the conservative movement. Gay-marriage advocates have their story line for "Why now?": The culture has shifted. Now is the time. If by "culture" is meant "what ordinary voters think," there is remarkably little evidence of this. And culture does consist largely in "what people think"—but the ideas that govern a culture are made by elites: writers, thinkers, professors, artists, musicians, ad executives, prophets, bishops, ministers, religious leaders. These "symbolic analysts" are the most important players in culture war. Symbols are not distractions—they are the stuff of culture. When people dismiss the fight for marriage as only a fight about a word—they are revealing that they do not understand what a culture war is about. It is largely about fixing the meanings of words. What does "patriotism" mean? What does "freedom" mean? What does "equality" require? What is "marriage"?

The best way to understand the power of the gay-marriage movement is to focus on the fact that its leaders are artists. They are painting truths in broad strokes, hoping to make reality conform to their pictures. They are good at this, and that's a powerful advantage. But here is *our* edge: The truth is easier to represent when reality is already on your side. That, along with the support of a majority of the American people, is our latent, mostly unexploited advantage. Same-sex unions are really not just like opposite-sex unions when marriage is in question. Celebrating all forms of adult romantic love equally is not a very good justification for redefining a fundamental institution whose public purposes reach far beyond the affirmation of romance.

Cultures that can no longer perceive anything special about unions of husband and wife will succumb to those that do. The future belongs to civilizations that commit substantial energy to generativity. Gay marriage is a bright red decision line: Once our government is committed to the idea that two men in a loving union are a marriage, there will be no retreat from that idea in the public square. Marriage will mean adults in love, not children in need.

The frontlines of a battle are perhaps never the place where a definitive account can be written, but here is what I saw unfold over the last few months.

First came Iowa. On April 3, the Iowa supreme court discovered a constitutional right to gay marriage.

Iowa? How did gay marriage happen *there*?

Almost ten years ago, gay-marriage advocates launched a court-based strategy. They chose carefully the states where cases would be filed—and Iowa made the list. Something about the Iowa court's decisions on equal protection made Lambda Legal and the rest of the gay-rights legal establishment believe that Iowa, along with Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Washington State, and California was a prime candidate for court-ordered gay marriage. They were half right: After Massachusetts in 2003, state supreme courts in Connecticut, California, and Iowa discovered a constitutional right to gay marriage.

From a culture-war perspective, what is most interesting about Iowa is the way gay-marriage advocates used the decision. "Gay marriage comes to the heartland," was the top-line message, implying that somehow the good people of Iowa now support gay marriage. I know how false this message is. The outrage in the heartland about gay marriage is palpable, if so far undirected. A University of Iowa Hawkeye Poll of Iowa residents released just days before the court's same-sex-marriage ruling showed that just 26 percent of Iowans supported same-sex marriage.

With Rep. Steve King (R., Iowa), the National Organization for Marriage robocalled the state in response to the court decision, urging Iowans to call their legislators to support a marriage amendment. We also asked whether we could call back and ask them for money. Here's the amazing thing: The very first sweep of phone calls raised more money than the cost of the robocalls. "When people you don't know send you checks over the phone for $1,000, the base is fired up!" said Brian Brown, our executive director.

Nonetheless, just a few weeks later, while I was being interviewed on a Christian radio station in Texas, the host told me, "Maybe they want gay marriage in Iowa or something but not here." Huh? They want gay marriage in Iowa? How had he come to believe that? This very conservative Christian talk-show host had picked up the message of gay-marriage advocates. A small point, perhaps, but a telling one: "Our" people pick up and pass on the other side's messages. It doesn't happen in reverse.

That's cultural power. Culture is, above all, the power to "name reality," as James Davison Hunter—the sociologist who coined the term "culture war"—put it. So here's the bad news: Right now, *they* are naming *our* reality too.

On the same day the Iowa court ruled for gay marriage, the Vermont legislature passed a gay-marriage bill. A few days later, they voted to override the governor's veto and the Vermont civil-union law (passed by court order) was converted to gay marriage.

There was a silver lining. Quite unexpectedly, Vermont legislators insisted on something brand-new before they would pass gay marriage: some substantive (if not fully adequate) religious-liberty protections. Gay-marriage advocates have never been willing to offer any such protection. Instead, in state after state, the gay-marriage establishment will countenance only what one scholar friend calls "fake religious-liberty protection." She means laws that say clergy won't be required to solemnize same-sex marriages. The gay legal establishment is not stupid: They know the First Amendment already prevents government from pushing clergy around in that particular way.

But it does not prevent the government from pressuring religious groups in other ways; it doesn't prevent the law from being misused to pressure religious schools, charities, and other religious organizations that refuse to recognize same-sex unions as marriages. The First Amendment did not, for example, protect

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Boston Catholic Charities from crippling discrimination lawsuits for failing to place children with gay couples. It did not protect a Methodist group in Ocean Grove, N.J., from government-imposed penalties (including the loss of a tax exemption) for refusing to permit same-sex civil-union ceremonies on its property. It did not protect Elaine Huguenin, a New Mexico wedding photographer who was fined more than $6,000 because she did not want to photograph a same-sex ceremony, or the Christian physicians in California who have been given a rather bleak choice: your faith or your job.

Why hasn't the Human Rights Campaign stepped forward to endorse more generous religious-liberty protections? Why don't they take this argument away from me and my fellow marriage advocates? Why, instead, does HRC president Joe Solmonese—when I asked him on *Hardball* whether he thought religious groups and people should be punished for failing to accept gay unions as marriages—say, "When religious organizations step into the public sphere, it should not be surprising to people that they are bound to adhere to the laws in the states that they are operating in"?

I have been turning these questions over in my mind ever since I became aware of how serious the religious-liberty impact of gay marriage is likely to be. If the negative effects of gay marriage on religious people and institutions are an unintended consequence, why not step forward with generous conscience protections? And if the legal pressures on religious groups are an *intended* consequence, that's something the American people are entitled to know.

In one sense the Human Rights Campaign's resistance to religious exemptions is understandable: If you really believe that orientation is like race, then faithful Catholics, evangelicals, Mormons, Jews, and Muslims are like racists, and they should be treated by law the same way we treat racists. We don't throw racists in jail, but we also don't create special exemptions to help religious people discriminate on the basis of race.

The architects of the gay-marriage strategy, however, depend on a broad coalition of liberal cultural elites, and many of them are only partially and ambivalently on board with the race analogy. The architects tend to be ideological purists (as movement leaders generally are), but the bigger chunk of people who support gay marriage do so out of compassion, as a gesture of solidarity with people who are suffering. These folks don't really believe that Grandma is a hater just like George Wallace because she doesn't see two men as a marriage. Not yet, anyway.

One of the unsung religious-liberty heroes in this country is Robert Appel, executive director of the Vermont Human Rights Commission. The story did not make the mainstream news, but people who were at the same-sex-marriage hearings in Vermont report that, when asked by a legislator whether current religious-liberty protection was adequate, he said, "No."

So the blue state of Vermont did not one but two historic things: It became the first state to enact a same-sex-marriage law without a court order, and it became the first state to enact some substantive religious-liberty protections—expressing simultaneous concern for the rights of both gay people and religious folk.

A SIMILAR thing happened when gay-marriage advocates pushed Connecticut legislators to pass "implementing legislation" to legitimate in the public's eyes (or possibly in Supreme Court justice Anthony Kennedy's eyes) the Connecticut supreme court decision that had already ordered gay marriage.

Working with the Family Institute of Connecticut, the National Organization for Marriage reached out to voters with robocall technology, combined with radio and TV media campaigns. Voters responded by the thousands, flooding the legislature with calls. Independent legal scholars, I later learned, wrote to Senate and House leaders expressing concern about the religious-liberty impact. On April 22, Democratic leaders came into their chambers confident they had the votes to pass gay marriage without any substantive amendments. It should have been a totally routine thing: implementing a court order. Instead, they had a rebellion on their hands. Catholic Democrats from blue-collar districts made clear they would not pass a gay-marriage bill without expansive conscience protections. The bill they passed included broad protections for religious institutions (including an explicit right for religious organizations such as Catholic Charities to provide adoptions, although not a right to equal access to government money to do so).

The architects of the gay-marriage strategy tend to be ideological purists, but the bigger chunk of people who support gay marriage do so out of compassion, as a gesture of solidarity with people who are suffering.

Maine was a different story. There, state legislators faced an easy choice: They could please their base and vote for an undiluted gay-marriage bill, knowing that in Maine any bill would probably end up being put to a referendum. The "people's veto" would ultimately relieve them of political responsibility. As I write, the Stand for Marriage Maine coalition (which includes the National Organization for Marriage) has collected well over the 55,000 signatures needed for a referendum in just four weeks. A repeal of gay marriage will be on the ballot this November.

Meanwhile, a full-court press in New Hampshire ran into strong public opposition. In a state with a Democratic majority in its house and senate, and a Democratic governor, the legislature was tied up for almost four months trying to pass gay marriage—and it succeeded only after concerted pressure from both state and national leaders.

Why was it so hard? Support for gay marriage in New Hampshire was not coming primarily from New Hampshirites.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The simplest, most accurate watch on the planet!

You never have to set this watch…
in fact you never even have to look at it.

This new Talking Atomic Watch is the ultimate in simplicity, accuracy, and practicality. It's accurate to within a billionth of a second… and it talks!

I just threw my watch in the trash. I got it as a gift a while back—and it was something else. It had four different digital displays, about a dozen buttons, was waterproof to about a thousand feet, and I think it could even tell me the weather. I'll never know, though, because, like I said, it's in the trash. Turns out it couldn't do the one thing I want a watch to do … tell me the correct time. It always ran a little slow, which was bad enough, but there were so many displays and they were so small that I couldn't tell the time even if it was accurate. When I tried to reset it, I pushed the wrong button and set it on military time, and I couldn't figure out how to switch it back. That was the last straw. Now, I've got a great watch. It's super-accurate, easy-to-read, and it will even tell … yes tell … me the time. Best of all, I'll never have to set it! This is the watch I've been waiting for.

Whether you travel or not… this watch is a necessity.

This Talking Atomic Watch from *first*STREET maintains its phenomenal accuracy because it is designed to receive a signal from the US Atomic Clock in Fort Collins, Colorado. This clock is the standard for time measurement worldwide… it can go 20 million years without gaining or losing a second! It never needs to be set, because it automatically adjusts itself for daylight savings time and leap years.

Easy to read, even easier to hear.

The most accurate watch in the world is of no use if you can't read it. This timepiece is designed to tell you the correct time… anytime. It features a clear, uncluttered analog display that you won't need reading glasses to see. Best of all, you can press a button and it will tell you the time in a clear, easy-to-understand voice. So whether you're driving to an appointment or dining in a candlelit restaurant … you are sure to know the exact time. Press the button again and it will even tell you the day and date if you want. There's even an automatic hourly chime.

Try it for yourself… it's risk-free.

The US Atomic Clock cost billions to build and maintain, but you can have the next best thing for less than one hundred dollars. Thanks to a special arrangement with the manufacturer, we can offer you this watch at a special price with our exclusive home trial. Call now, and we'll give you a $20 INSTANT DISCOUNT. If you are not completely amazed by the accuracy and quality of this product, simply return it within 90 days for a full "No Questions Asked" refund.

Talking Atomic Watch ~~$99.95~~ **$79.95*** + S&H

**After $20 Instant Rebate.*

1-888-232-0157

Please mention code **38708** when ordering.

www.atomictimedirect.com

Senior Approved™

*first*STREET® for Boomers and Beyond®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road • Colonial Heights, VA 23834

50064

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The move of formerly Republican states such as New Hampshire, Colorado, and Iowa into the blue column has been treated primarily as a symptom of voter disaffection for the GOP, a "natural" trend; but former New Hampshire governor John Sununu can tell you otherwise. Sununu, who was also White House chief of staff for George H. W. Bush and is the current chairman of the GOP in New Hampshire, says the Democrats have been quietly organizing a national coalition of left-wing social-issue donors to help take control of states like New Hampshire. "The Democrats coalesced the radical-Left supporters of issues like legalizing drugs and the gay-marriage issue nationally and convinced them to target their money into states where they would try and use the legislative process to make the changes they wanted," Sununu told me. "In New Hampshire they funneled millions of dollars into winning the New Hampshire House and Senate in the '05–'06 and '07–'08 election cycles." In New Hampshire, parties typically raise a few hundred thousand dollars each election cycle. In the '07–'08 cycle, Democrats raised $9 million to turn and keep New Hampshire blue—much of it from Tim Gill's influential national network of gay-rights donors.

Those donors did the same in Iowa, which is why Democrats are refusing to move a marriage amendment there. They are now in the process of moving their model down south. ("You ever heard of Tim Gill?" one pro-family advocate asked me this spring in North Carolina. Democratic politicians once friendly to the idea of a marriage amendment are now turning a cold shoulder. And the Gill money, he told me, is flowing into judicial elections in North Carolina too.)

But the sexual coalition put together by the Democrats may be their undoing, at least in New Hampshire. Radical leftism on social issues is not what New Hampshire voters want from their politicians. When politicians push this agenda, it becomes evident to voters that their elected representatives are responding to something other than the desires and priorities of their constituents.

Sununu is bullish about the future of the GOP in New Hampshire, and the overreach on the gay-marriage issue is part of the reason. "New Hampshire is still a traditional-values state," he told me. "Democrats surprised us with their well-funded campaign, but Republicans have finally understood what is going on and, in 2010, Republicans will take back the state."

New York was supposed to be next on the list. Gay-marriage advocates were working quietly behind the scenes to assemble the votes to ram the measure through quickly, possibly in June, before public opposition could form. It was the accidental governor, David Paterson, desperately seeking to head off a Democratic primary battle as his popularity plummeted, who let the cat out of the bag, announcing he would try to get a gay-marriage bill through the legislature: "For too long, LGBT New Yorkers have been told to wait for their civil rights and personal freedom. We will not wait any longer. Now is the time for action. Now is the time for leadership. Now is the time to march forward together."

That alerted opponents. At NOM, we raised $600,000 in a few days to reach out to voters in 25 state-senate districts through media and phone calls, and we generated, on average, a thousand calls in each district. (Here's another lesson I learned: Even in swing districts deep in blue territory, a lot of folks just aren't on board with this gay-marriage thing.)

Sen. Ruben Diaz, a Bronx Democrat (and Pentecostal minister), held a rally in New York City opposing gay marriage; more than 10,000 people (most of them black and Hispanic) showed up. Longtime opponents of gay marriage, such as New Yorkers for Constitutional Freedoms, alerted their networks and worked with black and Hispanic groups, including CONLICO and the City Action Coalition. The new archbishop of New York, Timothy Dolan, made his opposition clear. In response to a question about same-sex marriage, Dolan said: "You can bet I would be active and present and, I hope, articulate in this particular position. . . . The topic you raise—other topics that are controversial, that the church has a message to give—yeah, you'll find that I don't shy away from those things and I wouldn't sidestep them."

If the people of New York are not enthusiastic about gay marriage, why was gay marriage moving now? As in other states, the answer is largely Tim Gill. *New York* magazine credited Gill's campaign contributions with pushing the Democrats to their newfound majority control of the state senate: "In November, Democrats picked up two seats . . . and entered the year with a 32-to-30 majority. [Malcolm] Smith became majority leader. Democrats say Gill's money probably put them over the top."

Gill's efforts were joined with a new story line in the national press: Republican opposition to gay marriage was crumbling.

On April 17, Steve Schmidt, John McCain's 2008 campaign manager (widely credited with running one of the worst presidential campaigns in history), in an aggressively publicized speech to the Log Cabin Republicans, argued that the GOP has no reason to oppose gay marriage: "It cannot be argued that marriage between people of the same sex is un-American or threatens the rights of others. On the contrary, it seems to me that denying two consenting adults of the same sex the right to form a lawful union that is protected and respected by the state denies them two of the most basic natural rights affirmed in the preamble of our Declaration of Independence—liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The next day, Meghan McCain reinforced that message.

Both had previously come out for gay marriage in print, but television networks covered their Log Cabin appearances anyway, helping to cement the new story line. The Borg rules: Resistance is futile. Even the Republicans see this now.

The most surprising defector is Mr. Federalist Society, former solicitor general Ted Olson. He has joined with his old foe David Boies to make a federal case against California's Proposition 8, which bans gay marriage. The Federalist Society, to its credit, is an intellectually diverse organization with no single party line, but it is still startling to see such an influential member of a group founded to promote judicial restraint make the case to the Supreme Court that our Constitution requires gay marriage. Madison would be surprised, too.

How do you end a debate when the majority of American people rather persistently disagree with you? A Supreme Court victory is one strategy. Using the power of elites to shut down the debate is another.

A vignette: In June, I met with a partner in a major D.C. law firm—a former Reagan- and Bush-administration official and movement conservative—to ask for advice about hiring a lawyer to take on Ted Olson and fight for the right of the people

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of California to protect marriage. He told me point blank that neither he nor anyone else who worked for his law firm could take the case. Most likely no one who worked for any major law firm could take the case, he explained. It would just be too expensive—too much economic retaliation and potential interference with its capacity to recruit top legal talent at Ivy League campuses.

I should not have been surprised. In 2006, the best law firm in Boston, Ropes & Gray, had to drop the Catholic Church as a client because of the Church's opposition to gay marriage. They were told that, otherwise, they would not be welcome to recruit at Harvard.

"If they had agreed to represent a mass murderer, that wouldn't cause a boycott," a friend noted. Of course not. The legal culture is a culture of advocacy. Lawyers believe everyone is entitled to a defense—except the majority of Americans who believe marriage means a husband and a wife. (This is what being treated like racists means.)

Okay, then, why don't *politicians* speak out more often? After all, nearly 60 percent of Americans are on our side. The answer: Politicians even in conservative parts of the country do not want to speak out, because they do not want to be targeted by Tim Gill's money. Thus has another whole category of symbolic analysts been silenced.

Silencing the opposition is also at the heart of a new tactic that emerged in the wake of Prop 8: going after donors to California's marriage amendment, whose names and addresses are publicly disclosed by law. One woman e-mailed me recently. She had given a few hundred dollars to the pro–Prop 8 effort. Her home address was put on an Internet site, and she continues to receive angry, nasty, sometimes vile letters from strangers. "Should I be afraid to go outside my door?" she asked. Probably not, I tell her. But most Americans aren't used to the idea that peacefully participating in democratic processes requires any degree of physical courage.

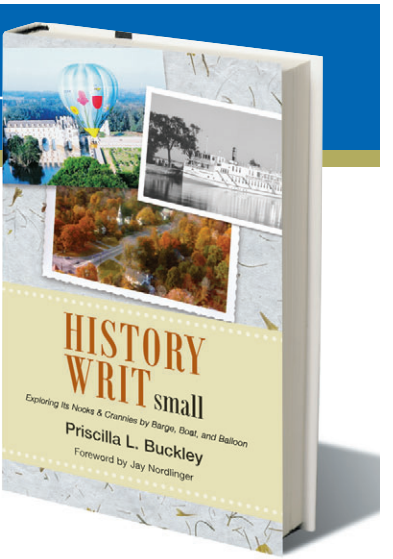
Since Prop 8, a tide of licensed hatred has been let loose. Violence was minor and sporadic (although it happened to some people I know). But the intimidation has been widespread and public, and it has generated very little general public backlash.

The harassment campaign directed at donors to Prop 8 is ugly enough to have direct PR costs for the gay-marriage movement, but it also serves a key strategic goal: silencing the opposition by intimidating the donors. (Because donors to 501(c)(4)s like the National Organization for Marriage are not subject to public disclosure, the harassment campaign may also be indirectly feeding the massive funding growth that NOM has experienced—we raised $3.5 million in the first five months of this year.)

Meanwhile, conservative talk radio and television is almost silent on the gay-marriage issue, with the exception of some explicitly Christian shows. Why? I cannot tell you. I *can* tell you that I was recently invited (by a substitute host) to appear on a major conservative talk program. The producer came into the room just before we went on the air to offer (nervously) some instructions: "We don't talk about gay marriage directly on this show. We talk about the religious-liberty side, but not gay marriage." Deep in the red heart of America, in the control room of a

Up, Up, and Away with Priscilla Buckley!

a new delightful book from *NR*'s most seasoned travel writer


HISTORY WRIT small
Exploring Its Nooks & Crannies by Barge, Boat, and Balloon
Priscilla L. Buckley
Foreword by Jay Nordlinger

Get your copy of this superb new book by one of *National Review*'s most beloved writers. Whether from the edge of a balloon wicker basket or the narrow deck of a canal boat, Priscilla Buckley (the revered former managing editor made *NR* a bastion of superior prose) amuses, entertains, and informs in this charming travel memoir that is a must-have for any *NR* fan. Sample this delightful passage that will have you longing for a place in the clouds:

> Michel calls to the crowd that has gathered. "*Alors!* We need your help!" And soon, a dozen or more people are pulling on the ropes. And they bring us to a halt three feet from the barbed wire fence that marks the end of the field. The four Atkinsons get out at Michel's order, but Jane and I remain aboard as ballast. A blast from the burner, and we lift a bit, away from the dangerous fence. Another two blasts, and we are safe. The balloon pulls the basket over—a layover, they call it—and Jane and I, flat on our backs for a moment, find slithering out on the whole easier than climbing out, if less dignified. Michel kisses the ladies on both cheeks, *comme ci*, right cheek, *comme ça*, left cheek, and shakes Jack's and young Greg's hands. We've covered an estimated 25 kilometers in just over two hours—*Santé!* everyone.
>
> And so the flights go, each different. We might have Buddy playing games—brushing through the treetops, putting down on the still waters of a lake or pond—or Michel swooping low over a village and calling out to a family having its summer dinner in the garden: "*Bon appétit!*" or, "*La belle brune!*" in salute to the handsome mother of the family. Children in pyjamas, waving from attic windows: "Where are you going?" they call, and Jane calls back, "Wherever the wind takes us." "Come back," they plead, but come back we cannot. The wind says no.

You'll say yes. We promise: embrace *History Writ Small* and you will be itching to see the world from lofty heights in gondolas, from ground level on pencil-thin barges. This sweet handsome hardcover can be ordered direct from *National Review* for only $22.95, which includes shipping and handling.

National Review ◆ 215 Lexington Avenue ◆ New York, NY ◆ 10016

Send me _____ copies of Priscilla Buckley's *History Writ Small*. My cost is $22.95 per copy, which includes shipping and handling. I enclose payment of $_____. Send to:

PAYMENT METHOD:
☐ Check enclosed (payable to *National Review*)
☐ Bill my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa
Acct. No.
Expir. Date
Signature

Name
Address
City State ZIP

NY State residents must add sales tax. Foreign orders add $10.00 US per order.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major conservative talk-radio show, people are afraid to speak against gay marriage.

And at precisely this moment, as a few legislatures began to pass gay marriage and a handful of Republicans ostentatiously began to endorse it, as gay-marriage advocates tried to break the back of the opposition by demonstrating that the debate was over, along came Carrie Prejean.

A STUNNING young Christian beauty-pageant contestant was asked on national television by a gay celebrity blogger (whatever that is) what she thought about gay marriage. Watch the video clip on YouTube. You can see in her eyes that she knows: If she says what she thinks, she is not going to be Miss USA. She's 21 years old. She's worked very, very hard for that tiara. She comes from a modest family background. Money is tight, especially since she had to quit her job to prepare for the pageant.

The tiara means a luxury apartment. It means the possibility of a lucrative modeling career. You can see in her eyes that she realizes all she has to do is . . . fudge. "I don't like to watch that video," Carrie has told me. She doesn't like it for the very reason I found it so powerfully moving: In the space of 30 seconds, you see a young woman first be tempted and then decide that no, she cannot fudge, she has to tell the truth. "I believe that a marriage should be between a man and a woman. No offense to anybody out there." You see her choose between truth and the tiara. She never asked for this ordeal, but she was tested and she triumphed.

Another vignette: I was in a different control room a few days later, waiting to go on TV. A man in the entertainment industry angrily told me, "Carrie Prejean is going to die broke and alone like Anita Bryant!" "Why would you wish that upon a nice girl like that?" I asked him. "I'm not wishing, I'm predicting!" he said. I tried another tack: "Do you know what she was in college studying to be?" No, he said. I continued: "A special-education teacher. She has a ministry to help disabled kids." I paused. "Carrie is going to be okay," I told him, "because she has already chosen to give up everything Hollywood has to offer, if she has to, rather than give up the truth."

The romance, the moral drama, unfolding on national TV captured Americans' attention. All of a sudden, opposition to gay marriage was all over radio and TV. The new face of opposition to gay marriage was a young, beautiful woman who did nothing other than answer a question honestly in a beauty pageant—and the hatred unleashed against her made the current strategy of the gay-marriage movement highly visible. Perez Hilton's angry, expletive-packed diatribe reminded too many people of what they saw after Prop 8. Most important, Carrie singlehandedly ended the virtual news blackout on gay marriage in Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire, and trumped the media's attempt to portray public response to developments there as muted.

She gave permission to conservative cultural elites to talk about the issue—and so gave ordinary Americans permission to tell pollsters what they really think.

Gay marriage did not start passing legislatures as the result of a sudden wave of populist sentiment for it. Public sentiment has not shifted one bit toward gay marriage since last November, when voters in a blue state (California), a purple state (Florida), and a red state (Arizona) once again affirmed that the majority of Americans oppose it.

A Gallup poll released in late May demonstrates the surprising stability of opposition to gay marriage: "Americans' views on same-sex marriage have essentially stayed the same in the past year": 57 percent opposed, 40 percent in favor. "Though support for legal same-sex marriage is significantly higher now than when Gallup first asked about it in 1996, in recent years support has appeared to stall." Gallup asked voters whether gay marriage would make the country better off, make it worse off, or make no difference. Only 13 percent of Americans said gay marriage would help the country; 48 percent said it would make the country worse off.

Even in Massachusetts, six years after courts imposed gay marriage, public opposition remains surprisingly high. In a poll of Massachusetts voters taken in late March by the National Organization for Marriage and the Massachusetts Family Institute, respondents narrowly opposed it, 44 percent to 43 percent.

Other polls confirm the stability of Americans' views on marriage. In an April 2009 Pew poll, even a plurality of 18- to 29-year-olds—the most pro-gay-marriage age group—opposed it, by a margin of 45 percent to 43 percent.

There is a generation gap on gay marriage, but the biggest gap is between cultural elites and everyone else. The urgent job facing marriage advocates is to take an issue on which we have the agreement of almost 60 percent of the American people and translate that into politically effective organizations that can elect our friends and defeat our enemies. If we continue to fail to do so, our political opponents will use their cultural power to create an America in which traditional religious groups are redefined by the government as the moral and legal equivalent of racists.

That was the point of the strange public outburst of hatred that ensued when Carrie Prejean said, "I believe that a marriage should be between a man and a woman." Gay-marriage advocates understand that if you can persuade elites that gay marriage is inevitable, public opinion won't matter, because it will be silent. An idea that people are afraid to speak ceases to matter.

That is their best hope, and our opportunity. **NR**

Carrie Prejean singlehandedly ended the virtual news blackout on gay marriage in Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire, and trumped the media's attempt to portray public response to developments there as muted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What's Wrong with CAP-AND-TRADE?

Everything

BY STEPHEN SPRUIELL

In June, the House of Representatives passed the American Clean Energy and Security Act, otherwise known as Waxman-Markey after the bill's sponsors, Democrats Henry Waxman (of California) and Ed Markey (of Massachusetts). The legislation's supporters say it would help to avert disastrous climate change by restricting the amount of carbon-based energy Americans use. These restrictions, plus a host of subsidies and incentives for renewable energy, are supposed to bridge America's transition to a "new energy economy," a future where office workers commute by electric cars and light rail from their eco-friendly residences to their jobs as clean-energy grant managers, and smiling union laborers hang up their hand-loomed organic-cotton coveralls after a hard day on the wind farm.

Here's the future actually to expect under Waxman-Markey: The relationship between government and industry is deformed and utilities, petroleum interests, manufacturers, trucking companies, automakers, and airlines have become lobbying firms with commercial subsidiaries. They use their leverage in Washington to avoid paying the costs of the new regulations, and act as collection agents for a new form of energy tax imposed on ratepayers and consumers. The Environmental Protection Agency and Department of Energy have become part of everyone's life, as all appliances must receive the government's seal of approval and all buildings, including single-family homes, must meet new national energy-efficiency standards. Finally, trade with other nations, especially China, is endangered as we threaten them with tariffs unless they follow us into this hell.

After the House passed Waxman-Markey, my colleague Kevin D. Williamson and I compiled for National Review Online a list of the bill's 50 most absurd features—corporate giveaways, agribusiness set-asides, sops to left-wing interest groups, etc. The terms of the bill may change when the Senate takes it up later this year. Some of these absurdities could be stripped to satisfy moderate Republicans such as John McCain, who wants to support an energy-rationing bill but can't vote for one with this much pork; other absurdities could be added to buy off red-state Democrats such as Mary Landrieu, who can't support job-killing emission caps unless energy-intensive industries are given the right mix of subsidies. But the most objectionable thing about Waxman-Markey is the bitter pill of hyper-regulation, not the welfare that's been added to help the medicine go down. As the debate moves to the Senate, let's distill those 50 absurdities down to four basic defects that place Waxman-Markey beyond redemption:

1. ***Cap-and-trade would deform the economy.***

Waxman-Markey could be a bonanza for big business, mostly because 85 percent of the carbon-emission permits that emitters will be required to obtain will not be sold at auction but given away. The lobbying free-for-all that has already begun concerning these permits is a good indication of the waste and corruption to come under the new license raj: Businesses will seek profits from colluding with legislators and bureaucrats instead of serving consumers, and the richest businesses will play this game the most effectively.

Lobbying expenditures by energy concerns increased dramatically as debate over the legislation heated up. The oil-and-gas industry alone spent $44.5 million between January and March, a 50 percent increase over the same quarter of last year (and the industry had plenty of reason to lobby last year: A major issue in the presidential election was how best to tax away its profits). The industry is so worried about Waxman-Markey because the new emission caps would place domestic refineries at a disadvantage against their foreign competitors, such as India's Reliance Industries. The lobbying assault won the U.S. industry free permits: 2 percent of the national total will go to domestic petroleum refineries, at no cost.

The bill also allows companies to buy medieval-style indulgences for their sins of emission. These are called "offsets" and involve one company's paying another company or individual to emit less, or to perform a carbon-conserving activity, so that the first doesn't have to cut its own emissions by as much. Since the government decides which arrangements qualify as offsets, this provision is a further invitation to fraud and abuse. For instance, the farm lobby scored some major victories by getting such activities as "improved manure management," "reduced tillage/no-tillage," and even "afforestation of marginal farmlands" (i.e., plant some trees around the house and get a subsidy for land the government may already be paying you not to farm) on the offset list because they will supposedly reduce greenhouse-gas emissions or remove carbon dioxide from the atmosphere.

In fact, most of these practices will do little or nothing to reduce greenhouse gases. Take "no till" planting, in which farmers forgo plowing and plant seeds directly into the soil: Two peer-reviewed scientific papers suggest that no-till does nothing to decrease carbon dioxide and may actually accelerate climate change by upping emissions of nitrous oxide, a much more powerful greenhouse gas. Other offsets will be awarded for forest-conservation programs that would have been undertaken anyway.

To the extent that companies meet Waxman-Markey's carbon-reduction targets by purchasing questionable offsets instead of reducing their emissions or buying permits from firms that reduce theirs, the purpose of the law will be frustrated. And with so many offsets of dubious quality for sale, it could be decades before any significant reduction of greenhouse gases occurs. In fact, nearly all of Waxman-Markey's carbon-reduction targets for industry through 2050 could be met with offsets alone. This means that small businesses and consumers will face huge new expenses that may fail to bring about any real change in greenhouse-gas levels.

Revenue the government receives from the 15 percent of permits that will be auctioned rather than given away is reportedly going to be used to compensate people for the ill effects of energy rationing. The bill creates a refundable energy-tax credit to compensate low-income taxpayers for reductions in their purchasing power. It will also establish a new welfare check in the form of an "Energy Refund Program" that will "give low-income households a monthly cash energy refund equal to the estimated loss in purchasing power resulting from this Act." And it establishes a program to distribute "climate change adjustment assistance to adversely affected workers."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's what this all adds up to: A mix of free allowances and offsets lets energy companies pass the costs of compliance with Waxman-Markey on to consumers. Those with low incomes and those who lose their jobs because of this policy will be compensated—to a degree. But a large majority of Americans will receive no such compensation as they pay the freight for Washington's green dreams. The very inclusion of compensatory programs is a tacit admission that the bill's critics are right about what it will do: raise rates and kill jobs.

2. ***The renewable-energy mandate would place additional burdens on ratepayers.***

Waxman-Markey includes a provision that would require utility companies to get 20 percent of their power from either renewable energy sources or efficiency improvements by 2020. The Senate was unable to pass a smaller mandate in 2007, because some favored sources of renewable energy (wind power, for instance) just don't work in certain regions of the country and bipartisan regional blocs wield a great deal of power in the Senate (although those blocs may be less powerful this time around, since their Democratic members will be under a great deal of pressure to pass the bill).

The renewable-source provision would force utilities to rely increasingly on expensive sources of energy like wind and solar—expensive because they are capital-intensive and located far from urban areas, requiring long transmission lines. It would also create a system of tradable credits similar to the ones for carbon mentioned above; utilities that cannot meet the standard would have to purchase credits from other utilities, with the cost being passed along to the ratepayer.

The standard excludes nuclear power and coal gasification even though they are cleaner than traditional coal-burning plants (nuclear power is emission-free). It also excludes abundant sources of hydropower in Canada. Again, the thing to remember is that Congress is less concerned with greening the environment than with greening the pockets of parochial interests.

3. ***Regulations on buildings, light bulbs, and appliances would strengthen government's power to micromanage our lives.***

Waxman-Markey has rules governing fluorescent lamps, incandescent lamps, intermediate base lamps, candelabra base lamps, outdoor luminaires, portable light fixtures, and on and on. The government started down this road by regulating light bulbs in the 2005 energy bill. Waxman-Markey tightens these regulations, meaning their unintended consequences—such as more expensive light bulbs that burn out quicker—will probably grow worse.

Waxman-Markey covers appliances and apparatus as well—clothes washers and dishwashers, portable electric spas, showerheads, faucets, televisions, and more. Appliances would be required to come with "carbon output" labels, and retailers would get bonus payments for selling those that are certified "best-in-class." The bill sets up a payment schedule to reward the manufacturers of these best-in-class products: $75 for each dishwasher, $250 for each clothes washer, and so on.

The EPA would be required to establish environmental standards for residences, meaning a federally dictated, one-size-fits-all set of rules for greening every home in America. It would enforce compliance by withholding tradable emission allowances and other goodies from state governments until they crack down on slackers. Your state government will be able to audit your home and force you to come into compliance before you sell it or make any renovations that require a building permit. Once you've complied with the directive, the government might reimburse you, but for no more than half of your expenses.

The bill would affect commercial properties, too. In fact, all buildings would be governed by a "national energy efficiency building code" that would require a 50 percent reduction in energy use by 2018, followed by 5 percent reductions every three through 2030. No one disputes that these changes will be costly, but Waxman-Markey supporters argue that they will pay for themselves through lower energy bills. This argument holds up only if one assumes that energy prices will stay flat or fall over time; the carbon caps instituted elsewhere in this legislation make that prospect highly unlikely. Businesses and homeowners will pay twice—once to retrofit their roosts and again when the energy bill arrives.

4. ***The bill would force the U.S. to go protectionist or go home.***

Waxman-Markey includes a provision that would require the president to levy tariffs against nations that have the good sense not to pass similar legislation. This provision is directed mainly at China, but it would also affect products such as oil from Canadian sands. Canadian officials have already said they will bring their refineries into compliance, which will make Canadian oil more expensive. That will have a big effect on gasoline prices; policymakers like to lecture the public about the need to reduce oil imports from countries with repressive governments, but the U.S. imports about as much oil from Canada as from Saudi Arabia and Venezuela combined.

Just like the provisions to help low-income people and workers in energy-intensive industries cope with the consequences of Waxman-Markey, the tariff provision is an admission that the bill's critics are right. Consumers could evade the energy tax it imposes on them by purchasing products from countries like China that choose not to impose a similar tax—but then Waxman-Markey could not achieve its policy objective. The bill's authors know they must forbid consumers to make the free economic arrangements by which they might avoid the bill's costs.

Obama opposes this provision, but there's no way that cap-and-trade can work without it; nothing else will prevent the (further) outsourcing of CO_2-intensive economic activities such as manufacturing to countries that do not cap emissions. While the president is certainly a smooth talker, it is fanciful to hope that he can persuade the Chinese and Indian governments to follow us over this ledge. Their refusal, again, to agree to emission-reduction targets at the most recent G8 summit is a perfect example of how they are playing us for suckers. How can we know you are serious about curbing emissions, they said, until you pass your own emission caps? This kind of "you go first" brinkmanship is a set-up for a double cross, and Obama is rushing into it.

The Waxman-Markey bill as passed by the House is target-rich, with its billions of dollars in giveaways for manufacturers, automakers, universities, community organizers, and other groups friendly to Democrats. But it would be a mistake to hang too much of the opposition to the bill on this copious waste and welfare. The Senate may rearrange the deck chairs by removing some of these provisions, but as long as the final bill rations energy, taxes its users, and requires the government to bless our lifestyles, we should hope it sinks. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brainy Bronx Kid AGAINST TERROR

A conversation with Judge Michael B. Mukasey, George W. Bush's last attorney general

BY JAY NORDLINGER

MICHAEL MUKASEY is a modest man, not a horn-tooter, and you may have missed his tenure as attorney general. He served from November 2007 to January 2009. In other words, he was President George W. Bush's last attorney general (succeeding John Ashcroft and Alberto Gonzales). Mukasey is not a great talker to the press, but he has plenty to say—particularly about how America is coping, or should cope, with what used to be known as the War on Terror. (These days, the government prefers "Overseas Contingency Operations"—actually, without the capital letters.)

Mukasey is back in his hometown, New York, where he is a partner at the law firm of Debevoise & Plimpton. That is in Manhattan. He did not start out in Manhattan, but rather in the Bronx. He was born there in 1941, and grew up in a mixed neighborhood: Jewish and Italian. Talking in his office, I ask whether he still feels like a Bronx kid. He says, "I *am* a Bronx kid. But one who always wanted to live in Manhattan." That was a sign, he says, that "you had arrived."

Mukasey is Jewish, his father an immigrant from Belarus. Was that name, Mukasey, ever mistaken for Irish? "Oh, yeah: by the parents of several Jewish girls I went out with." The name, incidentally, is pronounced—at least by this Mukasey—"Myoo-KAY-zee."

He went to Columbia College, where he majored in American history. He was editorials editor for the *Columbia Daily Spectator*. And what were his politics? "Oh, God, pretty liberal, I think." During Mukasey's confirmation hearings for attorney general, Sam Brownback, the conservative senator from Kansas, pulled out a specimen from the past. It was "one of those sneering editorials," says Mukasey, "that talked about how wrong it was to prosecute some doctor for performing abortions, how it was none of anybody's business except his and the mothers', and this, that, and the other—the usual arguments." And "the only conservative editorial I remember writing had to do with the Cuban Missile Crisis, and how Kennedy was right to draw the line."

Mukasey voted for Humphrey in 1968. He did not vote for the Democratic nominee four years later (McGovern). That is a familiar story, told by many a Democrat-turned-Republican.

Mukasey went to Yale Law School, where one of his professors was Robert Bork: "a commanding presence," says Mukasey. Some 20 years later, Bork underwent confirmation hearings for the Supreme Court, ultimately being denied a place on that court. How did Mukasey find the hearings? "Stomach-turning."

After law school, he worked in New York, serving as an assistant U.S. attorney, as well as practicing privately. His clients included at least two notorious characters: Roy Cohn and Claus von Bülow. Mukasey became close to Rudolph Giuliani, and, in fact, would swear him in both times as mayor—once in Mukasey's own apartment.

Mukasey was a judge then, of course. In 1988, Reagan appointed him to the federal court in the Southern District of New York. While on the bench, Mukasey presided over several cases connected to the jihad—to what some would later call "Islamofascism." Most prominently, he oversaw the trial of Omar Abdel Rahman, better known as the "blind sheikh"—a man who was determined to bomb any number of important buildings in New York. For a period, Mukasey had a detail of federal marshals, owing to the potential threats against him.

As you can imagine, he has decided views about the role of law enforcement in the War on Terror—a subject of great controversy, and a dividing point between "conservatives" and "liberals," to use broad terms. He remembers an early terror trial, some years before 9/11—not a trial he was presiding over. "I was walking back from lunch with one of my colleagues, the late John Sprizzo. And there were all of these marshals with their long arms, vests, and so on. And Sprizzo says, 'What the hell are we doing here? This isn't a law-enforcement problem, this is a military problem.' . . . I thought this was a stunning insight."

Mukasey says that law enforcement ought to have a "support role," but not a "principal role"—such as the military or intelligence agencies should have.

He resigned from the federal bench in 2006, because, he explains, "the ends didn't meet." In other words, "I had to make some hard choices about how my family was going to live." He went back into private practice, after his 18-year judgeship. I ask whether the United States should pay its federal judges more. He says, "Probably. But should salary be an attraction? I don't know about that. And if we pay them more, we ought to select them more carefully."

IN the fall of 2007, President Bush turned to Mukasey to ask him to be attorney general. He was confirmed, of course: but a lot of Democrats voted against him. Forty of them. Seldom has an AG nominee had so many votes against him. Did that sting? "No," says Mukasey. The Democrats' main complaint was that Mukasey would not say whether he regarded waterboarding as torture, not being privy to the full range of facts that would be necessary to form such a judgment. Interrogators' careers were involved. Plus, why tell the enemy what you are prepared and not prepared to do? Mukasey says, "I remember thinking at the time, 'Okay: I got a high-class problem. If I get confirmed, I get to be attorney general of the United States. If I don't get confirmed, I get to go back to New York and make money and be known as the guy who was nominated and didn't make it'" for reasons of principle.

There was also this wrinkle: Days before his confirmation hearings, he had a scare concerning prostate cancer. Tests indicated that he had the disease. That made Senator Leahy et al. a little less daunting—a little less important. In the end, he did not have cancer, and he was confirmed as AG into the bargain.

He arrived at Justice "at a particularly stressful time for the department," he says. "Reputedly, morale was low, there was a fog of scandal, and so on and so forth." His idea was "to get people doing what they do on a day-to-day basis, making decisions based on the law, and not worrying about distractions," while he himself kept a relatively low profile—letting those who accomplished something take credit for it, rather than "going out and being the one to announce the big arrest or whatever."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Day in, day out, he dealt with the myriad legal issues surrounding the War on Terror. A familiar charge from the Left—and sometimes from a particular Right—is that Bush & Co. sacrificed civil liberties for the sake of national security. This is nonsense, says Mukasey. And isn't it interesting that "people who complain about intrusion on civil liberties are not complaining about what you go through at the airport"? "I've never heard someone who describes himself as a liberal complain about what's going on at the airport. They hear about wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping and so on, and they think the government is spying on them or their friends or something." Mukasey asks people to consider the unreason of this.

"Worldwide, there are 12,000 FBI agents"—not so large a number. And there are only so many who work in the CIA or related agencies. "The nightmare of all those people is exactly the same: that there's going to be another September 11th. The one thing they want to prevent is another strike. All those people go to work every day *petrified* at the thought" that another attack could occur. "Given that, what use do they have for listening in on your political conversations?" Besides which, "people are saying the most noxious things about people they disagree with"—including George W. Bush, including Michael Mukasey. They are not shy. And they flatter themselves that "they're doing something daring or brave."

Michael B. Mukasey

Mukasey has a dim view of the *New York Times* and its exposure of clandestine programs. Bush called such exposure "disgraceful"; Mukasey agrees. He also says that exposure of this type does some unknowable degree of harm: because intelligence surely dries up. Asked what the role of the press should be in the War on Terror, he says that the press should take an adversarial position against the government when it must, but not be "reflexively adversarial." And "if you want to take an adversarial position against someone, go take an adversarial position against the Saudis. Do something really brave, like going to Riyadh to report on how women lead double lives," or "going to Syria to report on anything."

How about Guantanamo Bay, that symbol of draconian, un-American American conduct? "It compares favorably with a medium-security federal detention facility in the United States." And "the guards there are subject to unbelievable abuse. They wear plastic face shields whenever they have to go in or near a cell, because of what's thrown at them: feces and urine and cocktails of various bodily fluids." Journalists are free to go down there and inspect Gitmo for themselves. "But all of a sudden people develop budgetary problems or something" when such a trip is proposed.

Like most people who have held key positions in the War on Terror, Mukasey warns against complacency. He also says that no one should underestimate the ability of jihadists to do innocent people harm. Imagine that the 9/11 plotters had been exposed and caught, before carrying out their attacks. The reaction would have been "scoff, mock, scoff, mock," says Mukasey. "Some guy in a cave thinks a bunch of guys with box cutters are gonna get on airplanes and bring down buildings? Oh, come on. That's absurd. Grandiosity!"

With the former vice president, Dick Cheney, Mukasey believes that certain of President Obama's policies have increased the risk to the United States. Take what is happening in the intelligence agencies. There is a "demoralization," a new mindset that makes people "much more wary than they were before, much less inclined to get into this work in the first place, much more inclined to get out when they can, and much less inclined to push"—to push for answers to terrorist puzzles. These people walk very gingerly, feeling they may be investigated or even prosecuted. This is also an era in which we are reading terrorists, apprehended on some foreign battlefield, Miranda rights. I remark to Mukasey that some of us find this "demented." Yes, "demented," he says—"and Obama himself once scoffed at the idea of doing this."

Mukasey's view of the president he worked for? "A man very good at making decisions, not as good as he should have been, or as one would have hoped he would be, at making the case for those decisions." In his personal dealings with Bush, "I found him very insightful," and also possessed of "a nearly infallible bullshit detector. I would not ever want to try to sail one past him, or go into a meeting unprepared."

Speaking of his time in Washington more broadly, Mukasey says that "my experience left me very grateful that the people in the legislature do what they do and that the people in the executive do what they do, because if the people in the legislature did what the people in the executive do, all would be lost." An elaboration: "If all you do for a living is pronounce, you can strike any pose you want, as long as it sounds good." In the executive branch, "you have to be serious, and make decisions that affect events and lives." This responsibility should sober anyone up.

In the course of our interview, I notice framed photos behind Mukasey's desk. They are not of family. One is of Orwell. Another is of Robert Jackson, the Supreme Court justice who served from 1941 until his death in 1954. (He had also been attorney general.) In fact, there are two pictures of Jackson: a portrait, and one of him in action as prosecutor at Nuremberg. These photos obviously say a lot about what Mukasey believes. Orwell described his twin concern as "law and liberty." Taking off from that, the historian Robert Conquest describes himself as neither a conservative nor a liberal but one concerned with "a law-and-liberty culture." As for Jackson, he is probably best remembered as the guy who said that the Bill of Rights was not a "suicide pact."

Mukasey is gravely concerned about the state of things today, but he wants to put his words carefully, not alarmingly. He says, "I'm not eager to find out how much this country can take"—how much disunity, for example, and how much casualness about assorted threats.

Back when Democrats were holding up Mukasey's nomination, Bush summoned reporters to the Oval Office to complain that the judge was "not being treated fairly." He also wanted to point out that some of us had "lost sight of the fact that we're at war." Mukasey has not lost sight, and, although he is reluctant to make a public splash, maybe he should—he is a man for these times, whether in power or not. **NR**

PATRICK D. McDERMOTT/UPI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Long View

BY ROB LONG

CITY OF NEW HAVEN, CT. FIREFIGHTERS EXAM

Please answer the questions in each section before going on to the next section. Use black or blue-black ink. Questions that are not answered or are answered illegibly will be given a score of zero.

I. MULTIPLE CHOICE

Please answer the following questions by circling the correct letter.

1. One way to estimate the interior temperature of a burning building is a) the color and height of the flames; b) the buckling along the building frame; c) intact or exploded windows; d) all of the above.

2. Which mechanism is *not* a way to transfer heat? a) fusible ink; b) radiation; c) convection; d) conduction.

3. Which of the following is *not* a program on National Public Radio? a) *Weekend Edition*; b) *All Things Considered*; c) *Wait Wait Don't Tell Me!*; d) *Our Amazing Cats*.

4. Type III building construction is a) fire-resistive; b) non-combustible or limited combustible; c) ordinary; d) heavy timber.

5. Perry Como's hit single "A House Is Not a Home" was recorded in a) 1960; b) 1954; c) 1964; d) 1968.

6. On fire extinguishers, which symbol represents combustible metals or Class D fuels? a) star; b) square; c) triangle; d) circle.

7. At 212 degrees F, water expands to approximately how many times its original volume? a) 1,700; b) 1,200; c) 1,000; d) 800.

8. One way to achieve good, healthy cardiovascular exercise is a) sitting on a stoop all day; b) playing loud music; c) arguing with relatives; d) apple picking.

9. In automobiles, what does the acronym SIPS stand for? a) side impact pressure system; b) side impact protection system; c) supplemental inverted pressure switch; d) side impact pressure switch.

10. Captain Kirk, in the *Star Trek* episode "The Gamesters of Triskelion," is forced to become a) a Vulcan; b) a gladiator; c) a gangster in 1920s Chicago; d) a tribble.

11. Type I building construction is a) wood frame; b) heavy timber; c) non-combustible or limited combustible; d) fire resistive.

12. What is the square footage of a building that is 330' x 143'? a) 36,000; b) 42,130; c) 45,790; d) 47,190.

13. A firefighter always searches under the beds and in the closets of a burning home because a) electrical panels are often in closets; b) these places often contain smoldering items; c) kids will often use these places to hide from a fire; d) closets on exterior walls can provide easy entry points from outside.

14. The best way to friend someone on Facebook is a) first poke them, then wait; b) SuperPoke!; c) politely send them a message; d) wait for the "People You May Know" algorithm to kick in.

15. The three most common types of calls are brush fires, car wrecks, and a) mutual aid; b) house fires; c) false alarms; d) medical calls.

16. Which of the following is *not* an iPhone app: a) TwitterFon; b) NetNewsWire; c) Zembe; d) Listeria.

17. Which of the following parts is *not* found on a fire-service ladder? a) rope; b) pulley; c) halyard; d) ream.

18. White Burgundies older than five years a) are usually past their prime; b) still show surprising grapefruit and melon notes; c) often have been stored improperly; d) all of the above.

19. Supertitles at an opera are a) distracting; b) controversial; c) often useful if unobtrusive; d) not in keeping with the composer's vision.

20. It is a) never; b) rarely; c) always; d) sometimes appropriate to talk back to the screen during a movie.

II. TRUE OR FALSE

Please circle T or F to indicate your answer.

T F Golf memorabilia are among the most inflammable collectibles.

T F A family with duck-print artworks usually has a Labrador Retriever.

T F Antifreeze spillage must be mitigated at an MVC.

T F Carole King's best album was *Tapestry*.

T F In 1921, Harvard beat Yale by three touchdowns.

T F When firing your broker, the most polite method is to do it over lunch.

T F Hacky Sack is a more elegant sport than Ultimate.

III. ESSAY QUESTION

Please use the space provided to write a short, clear essay answering ONE (1) of the following questions.

1. What is your earliest memory of the lacrosse team?

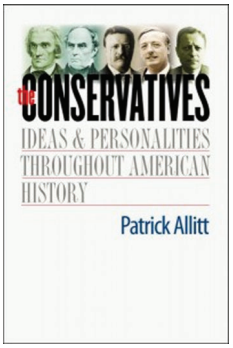
2. Which Tudor monarch most closely resembles one of your parents?

3. Describe your love for non-rhythmic music played at very low volume.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Deepest Roots

TOD LINDBERG



The Conservatives: Ideas & Personalities Throughout American History, by Patrick Allitt (Yale, 336 pp., $35)

In numerous books over the years, conservatives have offered historical perspectives on conservatism, liberals on liberalism, and each on the other, crowding bestseller lists and remainder piles alike. The common denominator is usually a polemical zest that is a product of the sense that major issues are at stake in our politics *right now*. The past is chiefly a storehouse from which to select what's useful to the debate at the moment.

Patrick Allitt is a professor of history at Emory University, and whatever political opinions he may hold, he keeps them to himself in *The Conservatives*. His wide-ranging, briskly written survey of the American Right from the founding era through the end of the 20th century is no conservative history of conservatism in the sense of an attempt to vindicate a conservative viewpoint against others, nor is it a liberal debunking exercise. Rather, it is a descriptive account, situated at the crossroads of intellectual and political history, that seeks to allow the various strains of conservative thought in America to emerge in the context of the political debate of their time.

Professor Allitt has thereby done both liberals and conservatives a favor. Progressives may be a little too flush with victory these days to care much about what conservatives think, and in any case they may be fonder of an approach toward conservatism that seems much more common in the academic world today than Allitt's, namely, treating conservatism as a pathology in need of explanation. But here progressives have an excellent opportunity to develop a richer understanding of their adversaries.

Allitt's service to conservatives is greater still. This would be true if only for the careful attention he pays to taking conservative ideas seriously. More than that, however, this volume seeks to secure for conservatives something oddly lacking in conservatism these days: a sense of a past.

The last 100 pages of *The Conservatives* offer a fine description of the modern conservative era, from the founding of National Review through the founding of *The Weekly Standard*. This period begins with conservatism in the wilderness, and William F. Buckley Jr.'s effort "to set up a big tent, bringing in as many types of conservatives as possible, and to keep them together despite their differences," as Allitt describes Buckley's vision for NR (not omitting the part of the story about those Buckley chose to keep out, such as the John Birchers and the Randians). It ends with conservative ideas' driving a national political agenda through their influence in the Republican party.

Along the way, we meet the National Review circle in its heyday, from James Burnham calling for the liberation of the "captive nations" to Frank Meyer promoting a "fusionist" conservatism that would explain to free-marketeers and traditionalists why they "actually needed each other and should work together." Allitt introduces the Chicago School economists, preeminently Milton Friedman, as well as the leading early Cold Warriors.

He documents the emergence of the neoconservatives, mainly disaffected liberals or leftists, such as Irving Kristol and Norman Podhoretz, grown frustrated both with the inability of ambitious government programs to deliver results at home and with U.S. weakness abroad. He describes the rise of the "paleoconservative" tendency, and engagingly retells the story of how a seemingly obscure dispute over whether Ronald Reagan would name the neocon-favored William Bennett or the paleo-approved M. E. Bradford as director of the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1981 crystallized a set of resentments for a generation. Here we meet the *Chronicles* crowd, as well as Patrick J. Buchanan, who would go on to lead an effort to reorient post–Cold War conservatism in the direction of "America First."

Allitt traces the evolution of the conservative view that market economics was defensible not only as an efficient means of allocating scarce goods and services but also on moral grounds, through the freedom it safeguards and the wealth it creates. And he describes well the persistent frustration conservatives have felt at their inability to make headway in what they perceive as a "culture war" over social issues, standards of cultural achievement, and the direction of the university. Here, we encounter *New Criterion* founder Hilton Kramer and *First Things* founder Richard John Neuhaus.

This part of their history conservatives themselves know reasonably well. Partisans of the various subsets of conservative opinion will have their nits to pick with Allitt's account, but in truth, they themselves all tell pretty much the same story about the past 50 years. Allitt's virtue here lies in telling the tale not as we have most frequently heard it before, through the perspective of one of the factions of conservative opinion seeking to discredit others (or a liberal perspective seeking to discredit the whole conservative enterprise), but neutrally. As he remarks in his conclusion, his "intention throughout has been to keep the rhetorical temperature as low as possible and be descriptive rather than prescriptive." In this he has succeeded.

But the first two-thirds of *The Con-*

Mr. Lindberg is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and the editor of Policy Review. *He is the author of* The Political Teachings of Jesus.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

servatives are in their way more valuable, because less familiar. It's not that anyone even glancingly acquainted with American history will have missed the *Federalist Papers*, the Whigs, the Southern agrarians, Calhoun, Webster, or Tocqueville. It's that Allitt puts them together into a fascinating portrait of the various forms American conservatism has taken.

He calls the *Federalist Papers* "the new nation's first conservative classic." The case for the new Constitution, as mounted by the *Federalist*, was conservative not because its authors called themselves that, but because they "hoped, with the help of the Constitution, to conserve a traditional social order that, as they saw it, was threatened by disorder from below and radicalism from abroad." One danger would be a state too weak to govern effectively and provide security. Another danger would be a state so powerful or autocratic that it deprived people of liberty. A government too democratic might give rise to a tyranny of the majority. All of these concerns come through in the *Federalist*.

A democratic, egalitarian political system could also entail the loss of the social hierarchy necessary to defend and perpetuate the higher ends of human achievement, from honor to virtue to artistic excellence. A society too commercial in orientation might lose its sense that there is anything higher than immediate gratification. Here, it is Tocqueville who resonates, pointing out that American democracy, which he admires, nevertheless comes at a cost. Professor Allitt calls *Democracy in America*, too, "a conservative classic."

It's important not to lose sight of the varied nature of the felt dangers to the social order to which people have responded with the impulse to conserve. Thus Allitt avers that "Lincoln deserves a place in the American conservative pantheon for one big reason: He led the nation to victory in a civil war that could have destroyed it, succeeding in this most basic of all conservative tasks." But his inclusion of Lincoln in the conservative pantheon does not prevent him from identifying as "conservative" southern defenders of states' rights, such as John Calhoun, as well as Calhoun's sharpest critic, the northern Whig Daniel Webster. To Lincoln the conservative, add on the conservative side Lincoln's greatest vilifiers, the post–Civil War southerners who championed the view of the war as a Lost Cause in which, as Allitt describes their grievance, "a virtuous, godly people had justifiably seceded," only to be crushed by "a numerically overwhelming foe."

It will not do, then, to look for "conservatism" in a single set of policy positions or even a single stance on the central question of the day. The conservative sensibility begins with an attachment to some aspect of the social order and the impulse to protect it from threats arising from any and all directions. But *what* the qualities of the social order in need of protection actually are and *what* truly threatens them are issues that have always been highly contested. We find different kinds of conservatives taking different positions on major issues; what they have in common is the understanding that change often if not always comes with risk. A conservative crank who hates America because he thinks egalitarianism's leveling tendencies have paved over the possibility of great achievement is no less a conservative than a conservative who cherishes American society for doing away with arbitrary hierarchical or class barriers to personal achievement.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that the American constitutional order itself and the principles on which the American political system was founded are unmistakably liberal in the classical sense of the term, as was the colonial society out of which the United States arose. One essential element of liberal society is dynamism born of free-market economic arrangements. Thus we have a branch of conservatism paradoxically dedicated to protecting the conditions that allow for change.

Because the task many conservatives have set themselves to (whether they see it that way or not) is the conservation of classical liberalism, in many cases they are not simply enemies of liberalism, even if progressives see them that way. Because progressivism entails forward motion, most of them conclude that conservatism must

---

TARGET

(with groveling apologies to George Herbert)

Yesterday I was shuffling through a store
And choosing several things I didn't need—
Lipstick, conditioner, a candy bar,
A gel pen, Tupperware, ceramic beads—

But at the orange cheese popcorn I was sighing
About professed ideals and tedious jobs.
Was this the best my long hours could be buying?
I peered at several carts of other slobs—

Then heard a laugh, and turned, and Love was there:
"How could I mind you buying some cheap thing
Out of your costly work—how would I dare?
I bought you out of all My suffering,

"In spite of what it said about My taste,
And the endlessly more worthwhile things to do—
And no, I've never thought it was a waste:
I'm Love, you idiot, and though you're you,

"I hold you in extravagant compassion.
No yard-sale browser ever gave less thought
To use or charm or storage space or fashion—
And yet I never part with what I've bought."

—SARAH RUDEN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

entail backward motion. This view is mostly wrong. More often than not, the conservative position amounts to nothing more than a brake applied in the name of stability on the forward motion that classical liberalism set in train.

Allitt's approach to conservatism is not schematic. In his introduction, he offers the view that "conservatism is, first of all, an *attitude* to social and political change that looks for support to the ideas, beliefs, and habits of the past and puts more faith in the lessons of history than in the abstractions of political philosophy." He notes further that conservatism "has often been *reactive*, responding to perceived political and intellectual challenges." Though clearly not exhaustive, and clearly broad, these markers enable us to see that American conservatism cuts a broader and richer swath through American history than even conservatives themselves have generally understood.

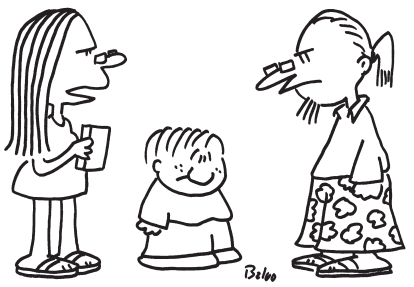
Allitt spends considerable time on the question of slavery and conservatism. He is right to do so, since, as he notes, conservative writers of the modern era have had little to say on the subject, perhaps out of embarrassment. Indeed, one might venture the conclusion that slavery is the reason for modern conservatism's loss of its sense of a past dating back before the middle of the 20th century and the appearance of the writings of Hayek, Mises, and Kirk. The 19th century's conservative defenders of slavery were defending the indefensible. But it is a little too easy to say nothing more than that Calhoun was wrong. Allitt reminds us that some conservatives who saw a great wrong in slavery were nevertheless more worried about the destabilizing effects of trying to speed its end, especially according to the schedule of the more fervent abolitionists. Some feared that moving too rapidly would provoke secession and civil war. It is uncomfortable, to say the least—or it should be—for most modern conservatives to put themselves in the shoes of those thinking about this issue at the time.

An affection for what's best in the social order and the urge to protect it are qualities that inevitably lead to a degree of tolerance for the *defects* of the social order. This is *the* problem of conservatism, then and now. A conservative sensibility would not necessarily lead to a defense of slavery or toleration of it: See Allitt's characterization of Lincoln. One might instead note that Calhoun's racial theorizing was novel and radical more than it was conservative. But a defense in the 1830s or 1850s of slavery as a social institution would necessarily have been conservative.

Progressivism has its central problem as well: the tendency to take the positive aspects of social order as a given and to assume that the attempt to remedy its defects can be achieved without risk to what's already good and perhaps essential. One would welcome a book by Professor Allitt about the progressive tendency in American intellectual history, one that would bring this central problem of progressivism into similarly sharp relief.

But for conservatives, Allitt seems to offer a bargain: In exchange for a frank acknowledgment of the problem slavery posed for and exposes in conservatism, conservatives can lay claim to the *Federalist Papers*, Tocqueville, Webster, Lincoln, and a place in American intellectual history far broader and deeper than most of them had probably contemplated before. This is a fair recovery of an important element of conservatism's past. It will be interesting to see whether liberals mount a campaign to deprive conservatives of their claim on these jewels, leaving them only with the self-dramatizing blowhards and crackpots who are also well represented in *The Conservatives* (as they would certainly be in *The Progressives*). If so, such an initiative would be very conservative on the part of the liberals—a search for support in the ideas of the past.

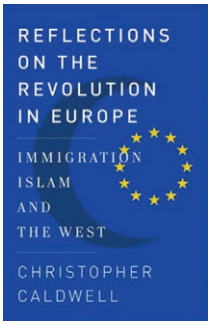
Meanwhile, if anyone ever needs a book to recommend as a clear and concise introduction to the development of conservative thought in America, *The Conservatives* is it. Before its arrival on the scene, there was no obvious candidate. **NR**



"I found this copy of Atlas Shrugged *under his mattress!"*

Struggle for A Continent

THEODORE DALRYMPLE



Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West, by Christopher Caldwell (Doubleday, 432 pp., $30)

Not long ago, when I was staying at a Turkish resort on the Aegean coast, my sleep was disturbed by two sounds: the call of the muezzin and the deep bass boom of rock music seeping out, like poison gas, from the local nightclubs. Needless to say, if my sleep had to be disturbed by one or the other, I would have much preferred the muezzin.

For many young Europeans, Western civilization comprises little more than pop music, soccer, a sexual free-for-all, social-security programs, and five-week holidays to exotic places: not a strong position from which to face either the economic or the ideological challenges of the day. A recent survey at Cardiff University in Wales, for example, revealed that only one in six undergraduates in economics could name the British commander at the battle of Waterloo, and even fewer could name any British prime minister of the 19th century. It is safe to assume that their knowledge of general European culture was not more extensive, and the students in question were probably at the better end of the British educational spectrum. While British youth is probably the most ignorant, and undoubtedly the most vulgar, in all of Europe, things on the Continent, alas, are moving in the British direction rather than away from it, and for the same reasons. In

Mr. Dalrymple, a physician, is a contributing editor of City Journal *and the Dietrich Weismann Fellow at the Manhattan Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a world without transcendence, the present moment is all. For people without attachment to the past, the future ceases to have significance as well, and the getting of children seems but a mere distraction from the most fundamental question of human existence: Is it Goa or Bali this year?

At precisely the time when the present moment became all-in-all for Europeans, their continent was subject to mass immigration on a scale not seen in modern times. This immigration was neither desired nor agreed to by the native population; but the political elites who first encouraged and then permitted or failed to stop it changed their justifications for it seamlessly, as soon as the last justification became "no longer operative." The elites implied at the same time that anyone who disagreed with them was neo-Nazi, which, for obvious reasons, was and remains a very effective tactic.

In this well-written and wide-ranging examination of the causes and consequences of the mass immigration into Europe, *Weekly Standard* senior editor Christopher Caldwell gives us the history of the shifting justifications for that immigration employed by the European political elites. First, of course, Europe had a labor shortage after the war, and tried to prop up its decaying and obsolete industries for a time by the importation of cheap labor. This was short-sighted, because, in a world of free, or free-ish, trade, cheap labor in expensive countries can never be as cheap as cheap labor in cheap ones, and so cannot be the basis of successful competition.

The original idea was that unskilled immigrant labor that became surplus to requirements would be sent back whence it came. Indeed, in the Netherlands, multiculturalism as a doctrine began as the means by which Moroccans would be kept in touch with their roots so that they could be transplanted back to Morocco without difficulty (or opposition). But human beings are not sacks of potatoes, to be moved about without consultation or consideration; and, thanks to the European welfare state, it was better to be an unemployed donkey in Europe than an employed lion in Morocco, Algeria, Pakistan, or Bangladesh. The immigrants therefore stayed, and, the Europeans having in the meantime discovered human rights, such as the right to a family life, they were soon joined by their spouses, children, parents, grandparents, in-laws, cousins, and so forth, a process that has since become self-reinforcing.

Once structural mass unemployment became the general rule in Europe, the need for unskilled labor could no longer be advanced to justify immigration. Suddenly, the cultural and ethnic diversity of a population became itself the supposed advantage justifying mass immigration, though in actual fact most people, including immigrants, felt uncomfortable about such diversity, hunkering down in little ethnic enclaves rather than sampling the delights of the various cultures adjacent to them, to which indeed they were often very hostile. The only tangible advantage of mass immigration was culinary: One had henceforth only to walk a hundred yards to be able to taste a dozen or more cuisines.

Whether mass immigration was necessary to produce this agreeable result might be questioned. Moreover, if you were to ask a believer in multiculturalism for the tangible cultural or other benefits brought to Europe by hundreds of thousands of Somalis, not as individuals but as bearers of Somali culture, he would almost certainly be reduced to silence; for the truth is that believers in multiculturalism are not really very interested in other cultures (for such interest is very hard work): They are, rather, moral exhibitionists, out to prove the largeness of their minds and the breadth of their sympathies to others of like disposition.

The European political elites were in a very vulnerable state of mind, which Caldwell explores with subtlety. On one hand, they felt that their civilization was worthless, having brought about the twin catastrophes of the First and Second World Wars; but on the other they felt that their civilization was so strong that nothing could undermine or destroy it. It was therefore for their countries to accommodate themselves to immigrants, and not for immigrants to accommodate themselves to their countries; moreover, because the Europeans had ceased to be religious, and were intellectually the most advanced people in the world, they believed that all other people were destined to follow suit very soon. The upshot of all this is that the political elites displayed no real interest in where the immigrants came from or what culture they brought with them. They thought that everything would come out in the tepid wash of European social democracy.

SEARCH OUR ARCHIVES HERE

AND OTHER LEADING JOURNALS OF OPINION ON THE PROGRESSIVE AND CONSERVATIVE SIDES; 1,000,000 PAGES OF HISTORY AND CULTURE.

HARPERS
THE NATION
THE NEW REPUBLIC
COMMONWEAL
COMMENTARY
NATIONAL REVIEW
NACLA
THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS
THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR

HTTP://METASEARCH.OPINIONARCHIVES.COM

OPINION ARCHIVES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It has been an unpleasant surprise for Europeans, at least of the political-elite class, to discover that the response of immigrants to their new countries depends as much upon the immigrants as upon the receiving countries; and that, by arrogant inadvertence, and by supposing that it held all the cards, Europe has landed itself with a problem it has no idea how to solve.

Not surprisingly, Caldwell devotes more than half his book to the question of Islamic immigration into Europe. Is there a specific problem attributable to Islam? It certainly seems so. In Britain, for example, both unemployment and imprisonment rates for young Hindus and Sikhs are below those of young whites, while those of young Muslims are well above. While Hindus and Sikhs outperform whites in education, Muslims have even lower educational levels than whites. Unless British racists are pro-Hindu and pro-Sikh, but anti-Muslim, which seems prima facie unlikely, the racism of the host country cannot explain these differences. They must reside in the characteristics of the immigrant groups.

Of course, it is possible that the various groups started off at different levels; the upper classes of Pakistan, for example, are deeply anglicized and usually religiously tolerant, unlike the lower classes. It could be, then, that the differences I have mentioned (of a type that exists in all European countries) are those of class rather than religion, but I rather doubt it. The reason Indonesians, though Muslim, succeed in the Netherlands by comparison with Moroccans is probably that Islam in Indonesia has mostly been of a mild and syncretic form. The Moroccans, and many other Muslims, came to Europe seeking a higher standard of living, but not a new way of life, for they saw nothing wrong with their own and did not want to change. Other immigrant groups were more willing and anxious to integrate and even assimilate; they were more likely to ask themselves where Western wealth and freedom came from.

For Caldwell, the problem boils down to a confrontation between a civilization that has lost confidence in itself and a resurgent religion that is self-confident. The Europeans now have such a foreshortened sense of history that they suppose that homosexual marriage and an equal representation of women in parliament and the boardroom have been their core values since at least the time of Julius Caesar; the religious roots of their civilization are to them either not evident or a cause for embarrassment and apology. This means that they think it normal to apologize for the Crusades and for Muslims not to apologize for Islamic imperialism; this is a manifestation of the strange European complex of self-denigration and arrogance, according to which only Europeans are sufficiently human to do real wrong.

The self-confidence of Islam is, of course, just as misplaced, and could be easily punctured. Islam has added nothing to the stock of human knowledge or intellect for hundreds of years and is unlikely ever to do so again. Islamic polities are usually sinks of iniquity and corruption; Islam is incompatible with the modern world so long as it does not permit apostasy and believes in the legal inferiority of people of other religions. The problem for Islam is that an alteration of its attitudes in this regard implies error in the past; and admission of error in the past undermines all its claims to inerrancy.

Muslims have seen what happened to Christendom once the light of inquiry was allowed to enter, and do not want the same to happen to Islam. Oddly enough, the self-confidence of Islam is therefore but a gestalt-switch away from deep collapse.

In my opinion, however, Caldwell overestimates the degree of religious fervor among Muslim immigrants to Europe. The majority of young Muslim men are by no means religious; they see in Islam but a pretext for the domination of women (that is why nine out of ten European converts to Islam are men; most of the women convert for marital reasons). Islam in Europe draws its strength from anti-feminism; and since the world that feminism, along with other currents of liberal thought, has helped to create is often not very attractive, ammunition is not hard for Islamists to find. A reflective young male Muslim is almost certain to be attracted by Islamism, for lack of any other ideology to hand.

This book is the best on its subject I have read. It successfully employs anecdotes, statistics, and abstractions to make its points. It does not offer solutions, though I think that greater open criticism of Islam and the Islamic record would certainly help. Incidentally, the book provides no grounds for American complacency or self-congratulation: President Bush's response to the Danish cartoon crisis was either mendacious or cowardly, but in either case was a disgrace. **NR**

Your Friend Priscilla

JAY NORDLINGER

EDITOR'S NOTE: National Review Books now publishes History Writ Small: Exploring Its Nooks & Crannies by Barge, Boat, and Balloon*, by Priscilla L. Buckley. You may order the book with the coupon published on page 33 of this issue. Below is a version of Mr. Nordlinger's foreword to the book.*

SOME time ago, a veteran pianist taught me a saying: "You play who you are." I have found this saying quite true, with qualifications, of course. Priscilla Buckley writes who she is. That is, her writing is graceful, lovely, intelligent, learned, amusing, assured, civilized—you get the picture. Nice picture. I might also say that her writing is lapidary. Her brother Bill liked to use that word.

One night at dinner, I heard her say, "I'm three," whereupon Bill said, "I'm six." Someone had asked Priscilla where she stood in their family of ten children. I had the impression they had been saying this from very early on: "I'm three." "I'm six."

Bill often called her "Pitts," as her other siblings did and do, and as some other confreres do as well. Where did the nickname come from? No one knows—although probably a younger sibling was trying to say "Priscilla."

Every now and then, I would hear Bill and Priscilla exchange bits of Spanish together. And their English was, is, utterly distinctive. There is a lovely burr in the voice. And "wh" is really, genuinely pronounced: For example, "why" is different from "Y"; and "whether" is different from "weather." Frankly, Priscilla's voice is music to my ears, as Bill's was (and is, in memory).

I might add that I have had the fortune to meet many of the Buckley sibs, and they're all delights—every one. And Priscilla seems to me almost a beautiful distillation of them.

After graduating (being graduated?!) from Smith College, Priscilla went to work for United Press in New York. Then she had two years in the CIA (where Bill

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had been too, for a year). Then Priscilla rejoined United Press—this time in Paris. She wrote about her press-agency days in a winsome memoir called *String of Pearls*.

After Paris, she joined Bill & Co. at National Review, where she was managing editor for 27 years. She wrote about these experiences, too: in *Living It Up with National Review*.

In this, her latest volume, she takes you around the world, or to many parts of it. You go by barge, boat, and balloon. Best of all, you always go with Priscilla. She is your friend, your companion. She says of personnel on a particular boat that they "entertain and instruct us." (That was on the Nile.) Well, so does Priscilla. She is an enjoyable person to learn from: full of appreciation for life, for people. There's not a mean bone in her body (though she pokes a little fun at a man named Bill Miller, on the Colorado River).

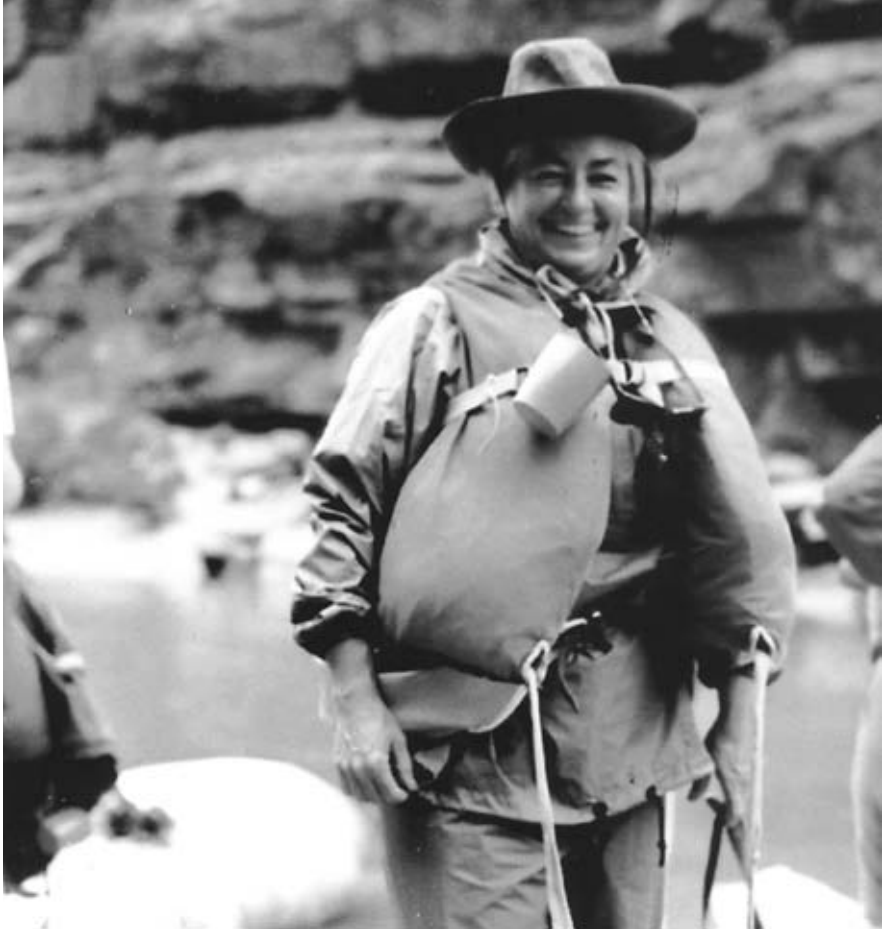
She takes her time traveling about, catching many fine details—while remembering a broader canvas. These days, people tend to race from continent to continent. Priscilla is not a "tourist in a hurry," as she says. One of her chapters is called "Lazing It Through Languedoc." Sounds pretty good, doesn't it? Yet there is nothing lazy about our author as observer and chronicler.

Here is one of her observations, a typical one for her: "I never saw an Azorean man, woman, or child run." Apparently, they know how to take their time too.

She has a knack for finding just the right word. On a boat in England, she and her companions enjoy "a quiet cocktail, pausing from time to time to toss a biscuit to the fussy ducks that swim up, inquiringly." Fussy is the word. And she writes with a dash and humor that is so pleasant to be with. In Egypt, "it is 7:45 A.M., and madame's donkey awaits." There are many donkeys for Priscilla's group, and all of them are named Louisa (the donkeys, that is).

Have a dose of Priscilla in Holland—I prize the little touch at the end: ". . . nothing can dim the kaleidoscope of color that assails the eye, row upon row upon hundreds of rows of tulips: yellow, orange, mauve, lavender, pink, rose, magenta, coral, and purple, with now and then a delinquent orange tulip popping up in a sea of yellow, or a purple tulip in a sea of rose. No one's perfect."

I also like what she says about one of her sisters: "Jane does not accompany me on expeditions of that kind"—the roughing-it kind. "Not only is she not a happy camper, she does not camp." I'm right with you, Jane.



PLB dubs this one 'the well-accoutered river-runner.'

There are moving passages in this book, as when Priscilla et al. are in Egypt, at just the time the Camp David accords are signed: "Jannat, tough young Jannat, who has given us so many insights into the wonders of ancient Egypt, all the while keeping us at a professionally cool distance, comes up and kisses each of us. 'A kiss for the peace treaty,' she says, and her cheeks are wet."

Moreover, Priscilla writes with generosity and humility—and I'll give you a taste of what I mean: On that Colorado River trip, "the romantics among us stake out a place on the beach under the stars. The worrywarts camp under the overhanging ledges. The worrywarts have a good night's sleep"—while the romantics experience some difficulties.

One effect of this book is to make you love England, France, and other places all the more. Another effect is that you want to be a better traveler—a traveler like Priscilla Buckley. She knows how to do it. Travel is not wasted on her; she lets it fill her, and she is enriched by it. And, boy, does she know how to report back on it.

I will mention again that this is a civilized woman: a profoundly civilized person, a kind you rarely encounter. She is civilized, keen-eyed—and fun.

Please allow me to include a personal note—having nothing to do with the book, but having to do with Priscilla (who has to do with the book). I count it a privilege to be associated with her, in whatever modest way. Years ago, I became managing editor of National Review, and in my office was a cabinet, with Priscilla's name on it. "Priscilla, Odds & Ends," said a card (I believe in her hand). Do you think I have ever let go of that cabinet? Do you think I have ever budged that card, fading as it is?

I look forward to her next book, and I have an idea—don't know whether she is interested. Priscilla is a very keen golfer, and a very good one. At her club in Connecticut there is a Priscilla L. Buckley Trophy. She, of course, has won it. (Have you ever won *your* own trophy?) She could do a book about golf, relating her life with the game. For example, there was the time Harry Thaw played through—Harry Thaw, who married the "Girl in the Red Velvet Swing" and murdered Stanford White. But Priscilla can tell that story much better than I . . . **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Film

Here's the Outrage

ROSS DOUTHAT

It used to be so easy to shock the bourgeoisie. You could do it with paint, like Picasso; with words, like D. H. Lawrence; with (dubious) scientific data, like Dr. Alfred Kinsey; or with stand-up comedy, like Lenny Bruce. All you had to do was produce something explicit enough to roil their prudish sensibilities and wait for the outrage to come rolling in.

But that was before the bourgeoisie went bohemian and embraced transgressiveness instead of shunning it. And it was before the old middlebrow culture fragmented, as first cable TV and then the Internet hived consumers off into like-minded communities. In this brave new world, at once jaded and self-segregated, it has become harder and harder to reach the people you want to shock, and harder and harder to conjure up something sufficiently outrageous to appall them once you do. The innocent can wall themselves off from the blasphemous and gross, and the worldly couldn't care less.

It's been left to Sacha Baron Cohen, the long-faced, loose-limbed, Anglo-Jewish comedian, to find a solution to this problem. Or perhaps he was forced into it when his earliest comic persona, the dimwitted, wannabe-streetwise interviewer Ali G, ran out of potential targets. Ali G had trapped so many public figures—from James Baker to Naomi Wolf to Donald Trump—in hilarious, idiotic, squirm-inducing interviews that every English-speaking PR representative was wise to the con. All that was left, as targets for Baron Cohen's ambushes, were people too ordinary to know what they were in for.

The result, in 2006's *Borat* and this summer's *Brüno*, has been a 21st-century reinvention of the old transgressive game. Instead of dunking crucifixes in urine in the hopes that someone, somewhere, will be mortally offended, Cohen takes a more direct approach. Through his alter egos, an unfrozen-caveman Kazakh journalist and a flaming Austrian fashionista, he sets out to horrify the Western world's dwindling population of squares, puritans, and reactionaries by invading their businesses, their churches, their campgrounds, and their homes, movie camera in tow.

It's a win-win scenario, it turns out: First you shock and outrage Middle America with wildly inappropriate antics, and then you turn their shock into a high-grossing entertainment for a more elite and with-it audience.

Sacha Baron Cohen in Brüno

EVERYMAN PICTURES

Better still, Cohen nails his poor marks coming and going. For instance, if the people being imposed upon were openly outraged by Borat, the mustachioed, boorish Central Asian journalist—well, then they were the butt of Baron Cohen's joke. But if they tried to be kind to a bizarro foreigner, and reacted politely to his casual misogyny, racism, and anti-Semitism—then they were the butt of the joke, and bigots to boot.

Brüno is a variation on the same dynamic. Fired from his hit Austrian TV show, *Funkyzeit*, after a disastrous wardrobe malfunction, the title character tours the world in search of easy marks—redneck hunters, Orthodox Jews, D-list celebrities, showbiz parents, congressman Ron Paul—who are either induced to say horrifying things by the flamboyant Austrian's prodding questions, or induced into horrified reactions by his outrageous gay come-ons. (To a hunter, appalled to find the nude Brüno at his tent flap: "A bear ate all my clothes except for these condoms.") Play along, and you're a fool; lash out, and you're a homophobe.

There's a great deal to say about the moral callousness involved in this approach to comedy, but remarkably enough, most of it has already been said: There's been quite the Baron Cohen backlash lately, much of it focused on the smugly exploitative aspect of his movies. Indeed, his latest film has even inspired a few critics to unlikely flights of sympathy for the red-state rubes who find themselves at the receiving end of Brüno's polymorphously perverse assault.

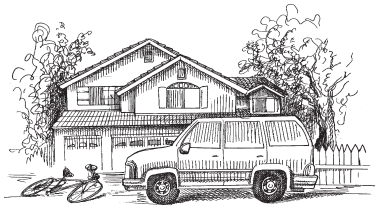
All of this is welcome, though I suspect it has at least something to do with the fact that *Brüno*, much more than *Borat*, is an equal-opportunity offensiveness machine. Both films send a foreign grotesque out in search of American grotesques, but whereas Borat was as much a reactionary rube as any of his victims, the mincing, prancing, sex-crazed Brüno belongs to a population closer to liberalism's heart: He is a cosmopolitan, liberated homosexual. The result has been an extended debate, in the critical community, about whether *Brüno* is "good for the gays"—and, by extension, about whether it's good for the rest of us. It took an outrageous gay stereotype, seemingly, to make liberal-minded film critics recognize the cruelty that's inherent to Baron Cohen's enterprise.

The irony, though, is that the equal-opportunity offensiveness actually makes *Brüno* somewhat fairer, and thus funnier, than its predecessor. And it is funny: That much must be emphasized, amid the backlash. Appalling, yes, disgusting, yes . . . but Baron Cohen is an immense comic talent, and his guileless, horrifying alter egos always find a way to drag the laughs out, even when you're determined to be disapproving. I just hope he realizes, eventually, that the greatest comedians make us laugh with them, and at them—rather than at their unwilling, unsuspecting victims. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Straggler

Summertime Blues



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

THE thing one always hears about the long school summer vacation is that it is a relic of the time when farmers needed the youngsters to help bring in the harvest. Historians, however, pooh-pooh this. Fear of summertime disease transmission, unavailability of air conditioning, and downward influence from the vacation habits of the rich seem to have had more to do with it.

Whatever its origins, the summer vacation is now a fixture in our culture. Ever since our teachers' unions armed themselves with thermonuclear weapons and captured one of our major political parties, it is likely to remain so, though if there is any rational pedagogical justification for twelve weeks' juvenile idleness, I should very much like to hear it.

Until recently it could at least be said that summer vacation gave all kids the opportunity for some out-of-school socializing, and older kids a chance to get early work experience. Both rationales are now dead. The first was killed off by a combination of hyper-vigilant modern parenting styles and the home computer, the second by the J-1 visa, with which foreign students can work in the U.S. for up to four months. Why hire a surly, litigious American 16-year-old when, for the same price, you can get a Bulgarian, Ghanaian, or Malaysian 19-year-old keen to improve his English and innocent of trial lawyers?

And so we are stuck with the darn kids for twelve weeks. Few of them seem to have any idea what to do with themselves. Running off to play in the woods Tom Sawyer–style is out of the question: They might encounter poison ivy or Lyme disease. Hanging out in the town is discouraged: pedophiles, drugs, gangs. The district has summer programs, but they are not popular with the mid-teen set, to which my kids (ages 16 and 14) now belong, and in any case they are disappearing as budgets are cut.

What the kids *want* to do is play computer games. Years of striving to lead them into worthwhile hobbies have yielded only partial, tepid returns. They—boys, especially—yearn for those flickering screens. When deprived of them, they yawn and doze, unable to summon up enthusiasm for anything much else.

It's the same all over. A friend raised in rural Ireland went back for a visit after some years. A little river runs through his hometown; in summer, he tells me, he and his friends would be in it, or by it, all day and every day—swimming if the weather was warm, fishing if not. Yet on this recent visit he was surprised, on a fine summer afternoon, to see no children at all near the river. Where were they? "At home playing *Doom*," he was told.

A sad state of affairs. So here I am looking for my son, who has been ejected from the house on a beautiful July day after maxing out his allowance of computer time. I find him down the street a way, sitting with two of his coevals on the tailgate of a truck belonging to one coeval's father.

Gore Vidal has written that Faulkner thought "coeval" referred to people who were evil together. This always comes to mind when I see my son in company with other 14-year-old males. Groups of mid-teen boys, even well-raised middle-class ones like ours, seem to radiate mischievous intent, especially in the long summer sloth. If Old Scratch is looking to make some work, here are the idle hands.

The confederates eye me warily as I approach. I doubt they have been up to anything worse than trading dirty jokes, but probably the other two have also been sent out for computer-time violations or other small misdemeanors, and the air is thick with anti-adult attitude. I dispel it with a flash of my magic amulet. "Mom can't cook. I'm going for fast food. Place your orders, please." (It's a neighborly street: We feed one another's kids pretty regularly.) *Now* I see enthusiasm!

Girls are, as everyone says, easier. My 16-year-old daughter is a bookworm, currently reading her way through my fiction shelves. On a single weekend recently she polished off *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* and Flann O'Brien's *The Poor Mouth*. Her sole computer interest is in a game called *The Sims*, which lets you construct people with personalities and style choices and have them interact with one another. The thing has deep appeal to the young-female soul. (I hope the diversity cops are dozing in their patrol cars here.) Girls seem less susceptible to computer addiction than boys, though. Mine tires of her creations after an hour or so and reaches for a book.

She has company too: a female cousin, a year or so her junior, over from England for a few days. The two girls have bonded nicely, spending hours trading TV preferences, fashion notes, differences of accent and vocabulary, little-brother horror stories, and *Sims* tips. Thank God for the extended family.

Yet time still hangs heavy on their hands. Mom and Dad struggle to come up with chores, trips, entertainment. Somehow, under the July sun, the chores are more obviously make-work, the trips more prone to disaster, the entertainments only barely tolerated distractions from the flickering screens, whose dog-whistle call the juvenile soul hears every waking minute. Now is the summer of their discontent.

Perhaps it was always thus. The great, tragic Eddie Cochran was the voice of summer for my generation. Nik Cohn's book about the golden age of rock music, irresistibly titled *Awopbopaloobop Alopbamboom*, gives Cochran a whole chapter, and rightly so. Cochran, says Cohn, spoke for every teenager who "is still at school and hates it, lives at home and hates it, works in his holidays and hates that worst of all."

This current crop of teens lives in an America where low-paid work is for foreigners. That aside, their long-vacation discontents are perhaps not so very different from those Eddie Cochran sang of back in the Eisenhower administration:

> Well I called my congressman and
> he said, quote:
> "I'd like to help you son but you're
> too young to vote."
> Sometimes I wonder what I'm
> a-gonna do
> But there ain't no cure for the
> summertime blues.

NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Happy Warrior

BY MARK STEYN

Spaghetti Spending

WHAT'S the end game here? I suppose it's conceivable that there are a few remaining suckers out there who still believe Barack Obama is the great post-partisan, fiscally responsible, pragmatic centrist he played so beguilingly just a year ago. The *New York Times*'s David Brooks stuck it out longer than most: Only a few weeks back, he was giddy with excitement over the president's "education" "reforms" (whatever they were). But now he says we're in "the early stages of the liberal suicide march." For a famously moderate moderate, Mr. Brooks seems to have gone from irrational optimism over the Democrats' victory to irrational optimism over the Democrats' impending downfall without the intervening stage of rational pessimism.

The end game is very obvious. If you expand the bureaucratic class and you expand the dependent class, you can put together a permanent electoral majority. By "dependent," I don't mean merely welfare, although that's a good illustration of the general principle. In political terms, a welfare check is a twofer: You're assuring the votes both of the welfare recipient and of the vast bureaucracy required to process his welfare. But extend that principle further, to the point where government intrudes into everything: A vast population is receiving more from government (in the form of health care or education subventions) than it thinks it contributes while another vast population is managing the ever-expanding regulatory regime (a federal energy-efficiency code, a government health bureaucracy) and yet another vast population remains, nominally, in the private sector but, de facto, dependent on government patronage of one form or another—say, the privately owned franchisee of a government automobile company, or the designated "community assistance" organization for helping poor families understand what programs they're eligible for. In any case, what you get from government—whether in the form of a government paycheck, a government benefit, or a government contract—is a central fact of your life.

A lot of the developed world has already gone quite a long way down this road. If you want to know what Obama's pledge to "save or create" 4 million jobs would look like if the stimulus weren't a total bust, consider what "good news" means in an Obama-sized state: A couple of years back, I happened to catch an intriguing headline up north. "The Canadian economy is picking up steam," reported the CBC. Statistics Canada had just announced that "the economy added 56,100 new jobs, two-thirds of them full time." That's great news, isn't it? Why, the old economy's going gangbusters, stand well back.

But I was interested to know just what sectors these jobs had been created in. And, upon investigation, it emerged that, of those 56,100 new jobs, 4,200 were among the self-employed, 8,900 were in private businesses, and the remaining 43,000 were on the public payroll. "The economy" hadn't added those jobs; the government had: That's why they call it "creating" jobs. Seventy-seven percent of the new jobs were government jobs, or "jobs," paid for by the poor schlubs working away in the remaining 23 percent. So the "good news" was just more bad news, just a further transfer from the vital dynamic sector to the state.

In Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales, government spending accounts for between 72 and 78 percent of the economy, and, as I wrote here earlier this year, that's "about the best a 'free' society can hope to attain this side of complete Sovietization." But, if you're not on welfare, working in the welfare office, or working for a "green solutions" company that's landed the government contract for printing the recycled envelopes in which the welfare checks are mailed out, it's not an attractive society to be in. It's not a place to run a small business—a feed store or a plumbing company or anything innovative, all of which will be taxed and regulated into supporting that seventy-something percent. After all, what does it matter if your business goes under? Either you'll join the government workforce or you'll go on the dole. So you too will become part of the dependent class, or the class that's dependent upon the dependent class. Either way, Big Government wins (as we already see in California).

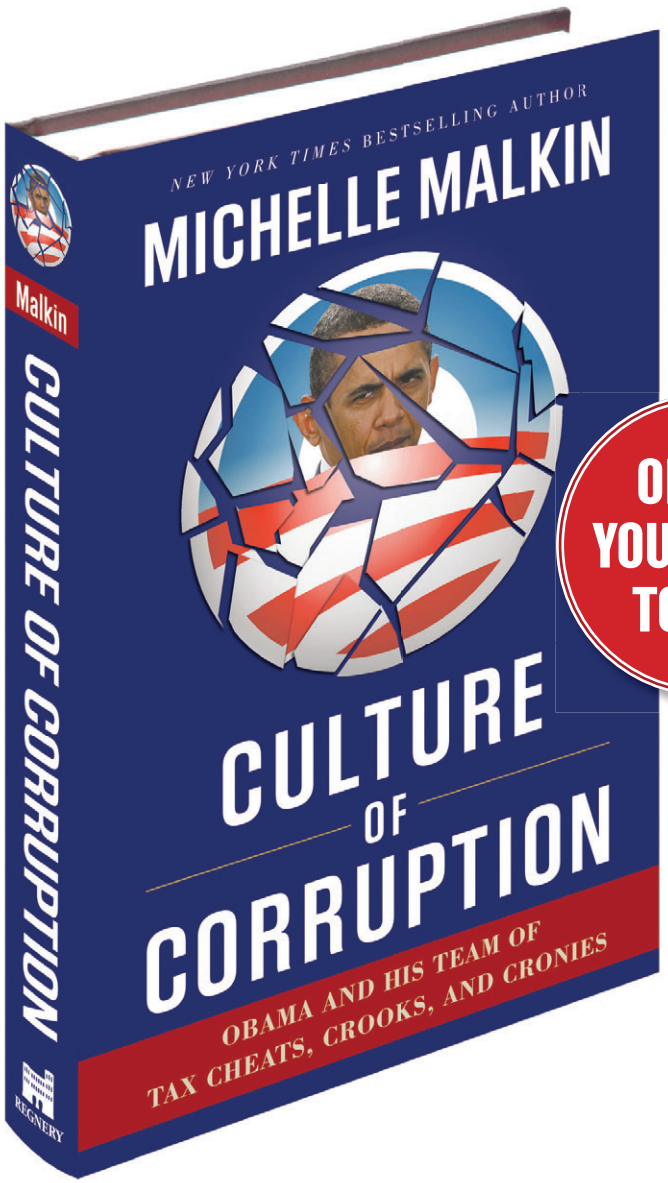
In the normal course of events, the process takes a while. But Obama believes in "the fierce urgency of now," and fierce it is. That's where all the poor befuddled sober centrists who can't understand why the Democrats keep passing incoherent 1,200-page bills every week are missing the point. If "health care" were about health care, the devil would be in the details. But it's not about health or costs or coverage; it's about getting over the river and burning the bridge. It doesn't matter what form of governmentalized health care gets passed as long as it passes. Once it's in place, it will be "reformed," endlessly, but it will never be undone. Same with a lot of the other stuff: Keep throwing the spaghetti at the wall. The Republicans may pick off the odd strand but, if you keep it coming fast enough, by the end of Obama's first year the wall will be a great writhing mass of pasta entwined like copulating anacondas in some jungle simulacrum of Hef's grotto. And that's a good image of how government will slither into every corner of your life: You can try and pull one of those spaghetti strings out but it'll be all tied up with a hundred others and you'll never untangle them. **NR**

CORBIS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ERA OF HOPE AND CHANGE IS DEAD

AND IT ONLY TOOK SIX MONTHS IN OFFICE TO KILL IT



ORDER YOUR COPY TODAY!

Never has an administration taken office with more inflated expectations of turning Washington around. Never have a media-anointed American Idol and his entourage fallen so fast and hard.

In her latest investigative tour de force, *Culture of Corruption*, *New York Times* bestselling author Michelle Malkin delivers a powerful, damning, and comprehensive indictment of the culture of corruption that surrounds Team Obama's brazen tax evaders, Wall Street cronies, petty crooks, slum lords, and business-as-usual influence peddlers.

Going where the mainstream media refuses to tread, Malkin digs deep into the records of President Obama's staff and colleagues, revealing unethical dealings, questionable pasts, and abuses of power throughout his administration. From Rahm Emanuel's numerous political improprieties and Hillary Clinton's notorious ethical laxity to the pay-to-play tainted Michelle Obama and Joe Biden, Malkin shows how Obama has surrounded himself with a team that will keep his hands clean while doing the dirty work for him.

Culture of Corruption lays bare the Obama administration's seamy underside that the liberal media would rather keep hidden.

Since 1947
REGNERY PUBLISHING, INC.
An Eagle Publishing Company • Washington, DC
www.regnery.com

AVAILABLE IN BOOKSTORES EVERYWHERE, ON AMAZON, OR AT REGNERY.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is no time for Congress to be adding taxes on simple pleasures we enjoy like juice drinks and soda. But that's just what some in Congress are talking about doing right now.

American families are watching their budgets this year – doing more with less.

Middle class families are struggling to make ends meet—they aren't getting raises to pay higher taxes. And they know taxes never made anyone healthy—education, exercise and balanced diets do that. We all want to improve health care but discriminatory and punitive taxes are not the way to do it.

Tell Congress, a tax on simple pleasures like juice drinks and soda is the last thing Americans need right now at **www.NoBeverageandFoodTaxes.com**

AMERICANS AGAINST FOOD TAXES

Follow us on Twitter @NoBevandFoodTax

PAID FOR BY THE AMERICANS AGAINST FOOD TAXES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED